

THE SCORE

A MUSIC MAGAZINE

Editor: William Glock

Number 8, September 1953

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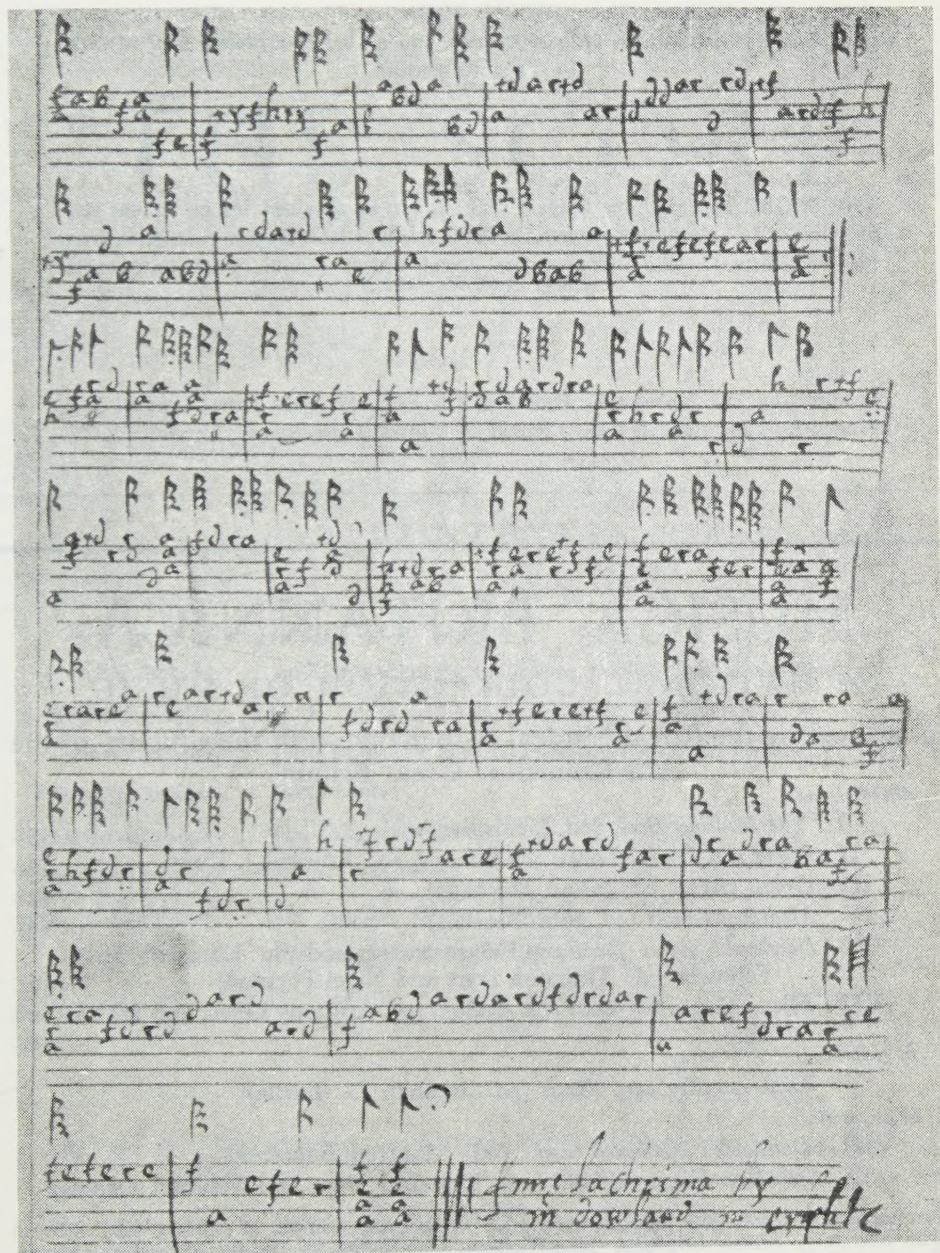
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The next issue will appear in December, and will include some *Studies in Music Criticism* by William Glock, Wilfrid Mellers and others; also articles on Guillaume de Machaut, by Gilbert Reaney, and on the Interpretation of Mozart, by Fritz Rothschild.

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NUMBER 8

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Number 8, September 1953

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Martin Cooper's review of *Gloriana* is reprinted from *The Spectator* of June 19, 1953.

The music examples in Bernard Naylor's article on Anthony Milner are reproduced by permission of Schott.

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COMMENT

Though I hope the policy of *The Score* is clearly apparent, I have never tried to define it in so many words. The first seven issues included fifty articles and reviews, of which twenty-two were written by composers, eight by professional critics, four by scholars, six by scholar-executants, five by executants, two by philosophers, two by men of the theatre, and one by a poet. This balance is different from that of any other serious music magazine I know. It suggests, I would say, a preoccupation with contemporary music and its problems, with ideas rather than facts, and with practice rather than theory; and taken together with the publication of many compositions, ranging from the fourteenth century to the present day, it also represents an attempt to treat music as music and not merely as a subject for dictionaries.

The present issue, however, does not altogether conform to this pattern. One way of undertaking it would have been to make a thorough study of our musical tradition: to examine, for example, the Elizabethans and Purcell as expressing different parts of a once unified English sensibility, and to relate to this sensibility the achievements in our own day of such men as Vaughan Williams, Michael Tippett, and Benjamin Britten. Certainly we may be proud of having so many contemporary composers of outstanding excellence, yet it seems probable that the highest function any of them can fulfil at present for English music is to be a channel through which our tradition is re-made and transmitted. This task has of course already been carried far forward, but the genius and the school that will actually embody the tradition in its maturest aspects have yet to come; and any critical appraisement that could help to clear the way for them would be of immense value.

On this fundamental matter the present issue has not very much to say. It is scholarly rather than critical, adding new material for consideration rather than probing more deeply into the old. I have tried to get together some articles that would make a genuine contribution to our knowledge of the past; and to draw attention, where contemporary music is concerned, to two composers of remarkable gifts whose works have not yet been widely heard. And I say this in order to explain what may seem to be an arbitrary choice of subjects; for many illustrious names of the past, and many established figures of the present day, are scarcely mentioned.

The two composers of 'remarkable gifts' are Bernard Naylor and Anthony Milner; and since Naylor has written some succinct paragraphs on Milner, I will only add a word on Naylor's own music, and also on Priaulx Rainier's *Declamation*, which was commissioned by Peter Pears for this year's Aldeburgh Festival, and is printed here because it is the kind of work that is very unlikely to be published in the ordinary way.

Most composers, if asked to write a short piece for tenor solo, would think of something light and charming; but Miss Rainier has boldly taken some of the greatest words in the English language and set them to music that is strong, serious, and intensely dramatic. There can be no doubt that the words and the fine performance by Peter Pears contributed to the almost overwhelming impression made by this piece at Aldeburgh; but if you study the music (on pages 34 and 35) you will see that it is not only daring in idea but also masterly in its construction. There are three contrasting elements: the tolling bell; the majestic and high-pitched 'statement' which follows ('The bell doth toll for him that thinkes it doth'); and then the declamation proper. Perhaps this declamation was first intended to move between the extremes of the other two, but in fact it rises over the words like a tide, and this gradual encroachment is especially dramatic in the second part of the piece. It is also worth observing how the composer saves up the notes F and B flat for the second part, in which they become of central importance.

Bernard Naylor is a composer of a very different kind. He comes from a long line of cathedral musicians, and his imagination takes flight above all in setting sacred texts. Even such a marked detail of style as his fondness for writing long-held chords which gradually die away to nothing, can probably be put down to the fact that he received his first profound impressions of music in King's College Chapel.

There are many composers nowadays who try to cultivate a kind of Schubertian simplicity—as though that were possible in 1953. Naylor does not fall into this error. You feel that he has taken note of everything that has happened in twentieth-century music, lived through it even, but that he has now reached a territory of his own in which he can use both old and new resources with convincing effect. Sometimes he is like Stravinsky 'discovering' his D major triad in *Oedipus Rex*. There will be a radiant chord of E major or a tender one of E flat, both of them perfect in their context (as in the Latin motet, *Sequentia Paschalis*). Yet at other times his imagination will lead him into desperate clashes, and then no quarter will be given. Both these resources seem equally right when he uses them, for it would be difficult to point to any phrase of his that seemed fabricated; and he never forgets that he is writing for the human voice. Indeed he creates new sounds and textures, so intense and glowing at times that the words seem to be encircled with fire. That is the chief impression. His music has an intellectual craftsmanship that makes it interesting to study; it has a compelling sense of form; but above all it possesses an inner fire that is unmistakable and very rare.

W. G.

ENGLISH MUSIC TO-DAY

Winton Dean

He who attempts more than an interim judgment on modern music is asking to be confounded. Yet this is better than no judgment at all. If criticism is to be of any value, it must spring from an attempt to judge the present by standards—not, of course, by technical yardsticks—which have been found valid in judging the past. The present is very much a part of history, and will soon be put in its place by the future. What we say about our contemporaries will doubtless retain only a certain historical interest for our successors, who will have the immense advantage of knowing which way our cats have jumped. For the future of music depends less on the conscious strivings of many workers than on the magnetic field exerted by one or two men of genius; and—if the former metaphor be retained—we do not know which of our cats are fully grown, or whether a veritable tiger may not be already lurking round the next corner. But we are doing no service to present or future either by refusing to commit ourselves to any opinion at all or by backing one animal against another simply to gain a reputation for prophecy.

It is a commonplace that the arts in the last fifty years have passed through a period of disintegration and are now embarking on a period of rehabilitation, a reshaping of their means of expression. Among the victims of the former process were the traditional methods of musical criticism, which had in many cases hardened into rules of the Beckmesser type; yet when these superfluities were swept away, a historical balance and detachment went with them, and this at a time when the storm-tossed art had particular need of such qualities. The camp-follower and the propagandist too often took the place of the critic, and since the propagandist cares less for truth than for doctrine and there is a limit to the number of camps that can be followed at a time, the musical arena, like that of the other arts, became a skirmishing ground for faction. Criticism enjoins an effort to enter the mind of each composer, but not an obligation to stay there and pronounce accordingly; that is a rank prostitution of the critical gift. There is still a need to take up the severed threads and re-establish a historical balance. Fashions change in every art, but the basic aesthetic principles do not.

England, as usual, was in some degree protected from this turmoil by her insular position; but—again as usual—the position here cannot be understood without reference to the continental blizzard. For two hundred years English music was about a generation behind that of the Continent; it was as if our composers had so much to assimilate from abroad that they were for ever unable to stand free. At a time when Strauss and Schönberg were exhausting the resources released by

Wagner's distension of orthodox tonality, English composers were busy consolidating on a basis of Brahms and Dvořák and undergoing a gentle form of nationalism through the conscious application of folk music. But then suddenly the Continent faltered. The collapse of tonality left such an accumulation of the debris of centuries that a whole generation devoted its energies to poking about in the wreckage and attempting to reduce some sort of order out of manifest chaos. In England things were different. We did not require the services of a Stravinsky as Grand Disintegrator, since we had few fossilized traditions to break down—except that of the oratorio, which had long been swamped by the weight of elderly music laid upon it, and now died a comparatively painless and unlamented death. The age of *Les Six* in France, and of the self-conscious experiments of Vienna and Central Europe, was represented in England by *Façade* and the detached figure of Holst, and by very little else. We were able to move directly from the ripe and retrospective romanticism of composers like Bax and Ireland, whom the Continent regarded as behind the times, to a generation of composers accepted everywhere as fully contemporary. Whatever may be thought of the quality of modern English music, it has undeniable vitality—more than at any period since the seventeenth century and, it may be ventured, than the music of many European countries to-day. London has for many generations been one of the world's centres of practical music-making; to-day we produce not only impresarios, but composers, of European magnitude.

English musicians have at all periods shown a greater power of assimilation than of technical invention, and in an age sated with technical experiment and yearning for spiritual reintegration this potential defect became a source of strength. Moreover, the younger English composers seem to nourish an instinctive horror of the doctrinaire even when in some degree attracted by the doctrine. Those who, like Lennox Berkeley and Humphrey Searle, were at one time regarded as followers of continental models have relaxed their apparent exclusiveness and blossomed out into a specifically English idiom. The supposed eclecticism of Benjamin Britten is undoubtedly a step in the same direction, a bringing together of the elements capable of fusion in a new synthesis, a development altogether healthy. Self-conscious rejection of the past never carries a creative artist into the future; it gives him at best a little more room in which to exercise. As if to emphasize that these truths need never have been forgotten, there still looms in the vanguard of English music the venerable but evergreen figure of Vaughan Williams, whose solid refusal to be jostled into one camp or another or to progress at any pace but his own has left him the contemporary of three generations in turn.

A further sign of reintegration in English music—though it obtains elsewhere as well—is a renewal of interest in the old large-scale forms, especially symphony and opera. Here there has never been a strong or regular English tradition. The Stanford-Parry renaissance laid comparatively little weight on the symphony, and Elgar's two examples stand apart; the next generation was even less concerned. The early symphonies of Vaughan Williams diverged into the cantata and the symphonic poem; Holst's only example belonged to the former type, Bax's seven, though they had no avowed programme, to the latter. When less than twenty years

ago Vaughan Williams and Walton in quick succession each produced a symphony that could not possibly be mistaken for anything else, there was a perceptible stir of interest and surprise. Since the last war a squadron of younger symphonists has arisen, and scarcely a year passes without the total receiving some addition that, even if the wings of immortality are not immediately palpable, has merit in its own right. These symphonies have evaded the obvious pitfalls: they are not imitations of continental models, nor are they cantatas or symphonic poems that have grown out of their clothes. Furthermore, they have reversed that tendency of English composers of all ages (with very few exceptions) to give of their best only when writing in part or whole for the human voice. Vaughan Williams alone has continued to supply symphonies of widely varying type; but whereas the remarkable Sixth Symphony was acclaimed, surely with reason, in tones reserved for the rare masterpiece, it may be suspected that the equally reverent reception of the *Sinfonia Antartica* was affected by a tendency to read into the music the moral qualities of the story on which the original film score was based.

The operatic position is more controversial and less stabilized, and so interesting that it is worth examination even if other matters have to be excluded. Until the last few years the English opera composer had everything against him. There was no tradition, little apparent demand, few facilities, and unlimited opportunity for misunderstanding. A number of peculiar factors operate here, both aesthetic and practical. The economic difficulties—the enormous expense of operatic production, requiring more than the superimposed resources of a choir, an orchestral concert, and a stage play—are now recognized, though it is still not generally appreciated how much lower are our operatic subsidies than those of the Continent, and how dependent on patronage—royal, aristocratic or bureaucratic—opera has always been. But the aesthetic problems are in the last resort quite as portentous, all the more so for remaining intangible. For almost the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the English theatre was dogged by a spirit of Puritanism which sought either to brand it as a house of artistic ill-fame or to use it as a pulpit from which to inculcate moral principles and high living. It is no accident that the surviving creative output of this enormous period, which on the Continent produced the entire operatic repertory and a plethora of straight drama, amounted in England to a few comedies and operettas. Such a murrain is bound to leave its mark on the national responsiveness to dramatic art; and the confusion of ethics and aesthetics deposited in the public mind is still current not only among musicians in general, but also in the higher ranks of musical criticism. Many opera-goers are not aware of the strength or the limitations of the art they enjoy; and the absence of clearly established critical standards is likely to hinder not only the public, but the composer, impresario and executant as well. The composer works, not in a vacuum, but in an atmosphere disturbed by pontifications and paper darts. Opera is unlikely to flourish until there is greater agreement as to what it really is.

The ethical hostility to the stage—and *a fortiori* to the musical stage—reached one of its peaks of volubility just at the time when the English musical renaissance began. While Stanford, who had a natural feeling for the medium, and Ethel Smyth

were reduced to hawking their operas across Germany, Hadow and Parry, writing not as moralists, but as musicians, were pointing the finger of denunciation at all things theatrical, and echoing Chorley and Davison in their contempt for the greatest dramatic composer of the age, Verdi. It is hardly surprising that English opera remained in the dark for another half-century, long after the other limbs of English music had begun to throb with new life.

At first sight it might appear that the recent war transformed the situation by dispersing the residue of overt Puritan prejudice, creating new interest in opera as an art, and even releasing facilities in the form of Arts Council grants. This is largely true; but English opera is by no means out of the wood. The outstanding event, of course, is the emergence in Benjamin Britten of a born dramatic composer, whose operas won conspicuous success not only with the English public, but on the Continent—a unique event in English musical history. And this success was based not on any deliberate or fortuitous striking of some responsive chord in the contemporary public, but on musical and dramatic gifts of the first order. But one composer does not make a tradition. The next hopeful feature is the startling response of English composers to the bare possibility of seeing their operas produced on the stage. The prizes offered by the Arts Council in connexion with the 1951 Festival of Britain provoked numerous competitors and some half-dozen operas that were found worthy of encouragement. Nor are these the only new works in the field. Yet not one of them has been seen on the stage.

What is the cause of this blockage in the traffic? The production of an opera involves the placing of so many valuable eggs in one basket that managerial caution is understandable; but it is also true that an opera ties down a composer to a long period of concentrated work that might otherwise be spent on more remunerative activities, and he is unlikely to repeat the experiment if he cannot bring it to the trial of public performance within a reasonable period. Clearly imagination and faith, a nice balance between boldness and long-headedness, are required from the managerial side. The present position is puzzling and in some respects disturbing. Of London's two opera houses, it is faintly surprising to discover that Covent Garden has done more for the contemporary English composer than Sadler's Wells. Four English operas have had their first performance on the larger stage since the war; but since the triumphant première of *Peter Grimes* (under different direction) in 1945, the only new English opera produced at Sadler's Wells has been *Lady Rohesia*, a light piece in one act that had very few performances. Yet several continental operas composed during the present century have been revived or presented here for the first time, only one of them—*Katya Kabanova*—a work of the first rank, and two or three of the others very poor pieces indeed.

It is possible, of course, that the new English operas have been tested behind the scenes and found wanting; but when we see what does get through we may be pardoned for expressing doubts; nor does the available evidence support such a conclusion. Two bodies of very different constitution—the B.B.C. and the English Opera Group—have exerted themselves on behalf of this unhappy company. Of

Berthold Goldschmidt's *Beatrice Cenci* it was impossible to form a fair estimate from the excerpts broadcast; and of *The Midsummer Marriage* by Michael Tippett only the Ritual Dances have reached the public. But Arthur Benjamin's *A Tale of Two Cities* recently received three full broadcast performances. This opera has the advantage of a most skilful libretto by Cedric Cliffe, who has achieved the rare feat of converting a novel into an operatic framework without once falling into obscurity or longwindedness; and the music seems well adapted to the stage. Some listeners may regret that the authors have preferred to follow Puccini's (and Hollywood's) method of stirring the blood by a succession of violent and pathetic spectacles, instead of aiming at tragedy through the clash of character. But the decision was perhaps inherent in the choice of subject, and in calling their opera a romantic melodrama the authors have made no bones about it.

The English Opera Group is associated in the public mind with the chamber operas of Britten, its founder. Its attempt to short-circuit the practical and financial difficulties of production by stimulating a taste for operas on a smaller dynamic scale is wholly laudable; unfortunately this has created difficulties of another kind, for the contraction of the instrumental resources places an immense strain on the composer's invention, and only Britten himself has so far passed the test. Early this year, however, the Group gave an incomplete concert performance, with piano accompaniment, of Lennox Berkeley's *Nelson*. This, of course, was a risky procedure, for not only were the dramatic and orchestral elements missing, but the balance was disturbed by the considerable omissions, which included of necessity most of the bigger ensembles and the whole of the final scene. Nevertheless, this was an exciting experience. Here was a subject—the conflict between love and duty in a national hero—that lends itself to several methods of treatment, and the composer has come down unequivocally against superficial melodrama. His aim, like Britten's, has been to follow the example of Verdi rather than Puccini or Strauss and present a tragedy played out in terms of vocal characterization; the extent to which he has succeeded seems to have surprised even his admirers. This surely is the kind of basis an English operatic tradition requires. It takes account of three features of local importance; the English composer's feeling for the sung word; that susceptibility to the sharpness of dramatic impact and contrast, uninhibited by moral preoccupations, that has slumbered since the seventeenth century but cannot be supposed dead; and the challenge of English history in a story with an instant and wide appeal. At the same time it stems from continental opera at its strongest point. There is no way forward from Puccini or Strauss; tragedy renews itself, melodrama and pastiche are mules. Yet Berkeley's opera, like others not mentioned here, though its existence has been known for some time, is not within measurable distance of stage performance; until then the last word cannot be spoken. If it is true that *Nelson* was rejected by Sadler's Wells, even when supported by the offer of a B.B.C. grant in return for the broadcasting rights during Coronation week, there is ground for grave anxiety about the present direction of that theatre.

The public, of course, has yet to judge of these matters. It is to be hoped that when the time comes it will be aided by a clear and informed criticism. Critics will

always differ, and it is healthy that they should: the critics of the past often have a greater claim on our attention and respect when they are wrong than when they are right for the wrong reason. Hanslick tells us more of Wagner than the Wagnerian who boosted his master's latest work as an article of faith. English operatic criticism suffers intermittently from two defects, an insufficient understanding of the nature of opera and a tendency to take sides. It is a lamentable thing that Britten's operas should be found generating more heat than light, in whichever direction the heat is applied; and it is depressing—to give one example—to find the same critical portcullis dropped in the face of *Billy Budd* and raised to admit the tottering Strauss of *Die Liebe der Danae*.

In any discussion of modern English music opera is apt to loom large, if only because the growing-pains of a great beast create more commotion than the more leisurely development of a smaller. Nothing has been said here of English chamber and choral music, whose healthy but unsensational activities must be taken for granted. It is where a tradition is least secure, whether struggling to be born or in danger of being undermined, that the future is most precarious. But at least English music is at grips with essentials, not pursuing strange gods because it can no longer face the steadfast gaze of those of its fathers.

14th-CENTURY POLYPHONY IN ENGLAND: A NEW SOURCE

Denis Stevens

Although our knowledge of fourteenth-century English music still rests on fragmentary and incomplete sources, more and more of these fragments¹ have been discovered in recent years, and it may be possible before very long to give a fairly convincing account of the state of music in this country before the time of the *Old Hall Manuscript*.

Musical fashions, in the fourteenth as in any other century, were quick to come and go. We know from the leaves constituting the *Fountains Fragment*² that current musical repertory of about 1425 was cut up and used for binding a memorandum book only twenty years later. But very rarely does the opposite happen—as when a blank page in a book provides room for musical jottings, or when the dorse of a legal document tempts its guardian to draw staves and write music.

One of the many documents delivered into the Exchequer during the year 1315 was a long Inquisition Post Mortem, from Tamworth in Warwickshire. As usual, the right-hand side was indented, with the result that a long wavy line can still be seen along the 33-in. edge of the Inquisition. Its width was originally 10 in., but the opposite edge has suffered badly from another kind of indenture, caused by rats or mice, or by continuously dripping water on the rolled-up piece of parchment. The presence of a considerable amount of polyphonic music on the dorse of this document³ was first noticed by Mr. Neville Williams, a member of the Public Record Office Staff. His preliminary investigations showed that the music was either written on the parchment before it arrived in the Exchequer offices, or was written at a later date by an Exchequer clerk—the only kind of person who could then have had access to it.

If the first of these suppositions were to be true, the musical notation would have to be of the Petronian or 'Fauvel' type which was well known in England during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. In point of fact the notation is an example of the fully developed *Ars Nova* style: full-black notation with clearly

¹ Many of them are described in *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library*, by Dom Anselm Hughes (Oxford, 1951). The list of additions and corrections by Manfred F. Bukofzer (in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Spring, 1952) should also be consulted.

² British Museum Add. MS., 40011B. There is a full-length account of this important source in Bukofzer: *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950), p. 86.

³ Public Record Office, E.149/7/23 (dorse).

marked points of division, frequently used minims, and a strong preference for major prolation. The music may thus be transcribed conveniently in $\frac{6}{8}$ or $\frac{9}{8}$ metre, although time-signatures as such do not appear. The damaged side of the document has removed much precious evidence of clefs, but it is doubtful whether time-signatures were lost also, since it was customary for those reading *Ars Nova* notation to deduce the mensuration from the context. Further, of the eight items which have escaped damage, none has a time signature, and only five have indications of clef. Using the notation as a guide, the earliest possible date for the music would be 1360. It may actually belong to the last two decades of the fourteenth century, since the musical style and content closely resemble that of the oldest part of the *Old Hall* repertory, which is now agreed to be early fifteenth-century.

Well over half, though possibly not more than three-quarters of a century must have elapsed between the date of the document's entry and the date of the music; and if the document did not leave the Exchequer, the alternative theory (that the music was written by a clerk after or during his hours of duty) must be accepted. Documents once in the Exchequer repositories rarely, if ever, left them. Even if this particular Inquisition did find its way into the outside world, there would appear to be little reason for writing music on it and then hiding it away for another five and a half centuries. It seems natural to assume that a small number of clerks employed in the Exchequer towards the close of the fourteenth century may have been sufficiently interested in music to want to sing something together. Certainly the music written down on the document is eminently singable: it is notated in score (conductus style) and was at the time of writing quite legible; the texts (*Agnus Dei* and *Sanctus*) are clearly written under the lowest of each group of three staves; the plainsongs—always in the middle voice—are among the best-known ones in the *Sarum Ordinale* and would almost certainly be familiar to educated scribes who gained their knowledge of writing from the church. Furthermore, the fact that there are no concordances with other manuscripts of the same period makes it all the more probable that the music was written during office hours and far away from other musical sources.

The handwriting is clear where unspoilt by damp and wear, but the staves have been clumsily drawn, and the distances between the lines, and between the staves themselves, vary considerably. Slight faults in writing text (*miserere nobis* for *dona nobis pacem*), music (a breve or its equivalent in smaller notes is missing from the contratenor of the last *Benedictus*), or intonation (again in the last *Benedictus*) show that the scribe was not really a first-rate man. In this respect, it is worth comparing certain of the *Sanctus* settings on this Inquisition document with a facsimile of a *Sanctus* by Chirbury⁴ from the *Old Hall Manuscript*. All the primary physical characteristics are identical: black notation, score layout, ligatures in the tenor part corresponding in many cases to those of the original plainsong. But the handwriting of the *Old Hall* scribe is undoubtedly the more elegant of the two.

The available space has been almost equally divided between settings of *Agnus Dei* and *Sanctus*: there are 36 staves in all, divided into twelve systems of three, and

⁴ Frontispiece to Vol. III of the *Old Hall Manuscript* (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, London, 1938).

of these twelve just over six are devoted to *Agnus Dei* settings. The first *Sanctus* begins about 2 in. from the left-hand side of the seventh system. A complete inventory of the manuscript follows:

No.	Designation and Position	Sarum	Source of Chant ⁵ Roman	Time-Signature (transcribed)	
1	Agnus i & iii/Agnus ii	6	II	$\frac{6}{8}$	
2	Agnus i Agnus iii	Agnus ii	6	II	$\frac{6}{8}$
3		Agnus i, ii & iii	10	XVIII	$\frac{6}{8}$
4	Agnus i Agnus iii	Agnus ii	2	IV	$\frac{9}{8}$
5	Agnus ii	Agnus i Agnus iii	—	IX	$\frac{9}{8}$
6	Sanctus Benedictus		3	IV	$\frac{6}{8}$
7	Benedictus	Sanctus	4	XI	$\frac{6}{8}$
8	Sanctus	Benedictus	2	VIII	$\frac{6}{8}$

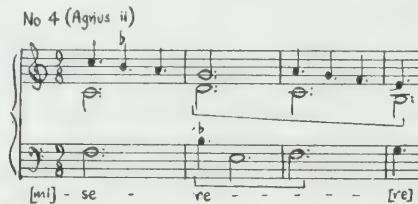
Certain liturgical questions arise from a preliminary study of the above list, which shows three clearly differentiated ways of composing music for the tripartite text of *Agnus Dei*. In 1 there are two separate pieces of music, the first having a superscript *miserere nobis* over the words *dona nobis pacem*, showing that this music was used for both first and third invocations. In 2 (which is based on the same plainsong as 1) the three invocations are separate and distinct. Even the plainsong itself has been slightly ornamented with occasional semibreve-minim groups, a procedure which is not found in any of the other settings on this document, and is a great rarity even in the later conductus settings of *Agnus Dei* in the *Old Hall MS.* The three invocations of 4 and 5 are, like 2, separately composed. One other type remains to be considered: the thrice-repeated single section as seen in 3. Harmonically by far the most simple item in the manuscript, 3 has no direct indication that the music is to serve a threefold purpose. Even the words *dona nobis pacem* are left out, but this may be only carelessness, for the same words are wrongly replaced by *miserere nobis* in the third invocation of 4.

Although the three *Sanctus* settings have all suffered slight damage, the *Benedictus* is in each case complete, and legible enough to ensure a plausible transcription. The first *Sanctus* (item 6 in our inventory) is remarkable for its use of the *Marie filius* trope to the *Benedictus*. Although this trope was in use right up to the

⁵ The Sarum numbers refer to the order of the plainsongs in the facsimile edition of *Graduale Sarisburicense* (*Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, London, 1894). The Roman numbers are those of the *Vatican Gradual*.

time of the printed *Sarum* missals, and may even be found in an insular polyphonic Mass⁶ of the mid-sixteenth century, it was apparently not often used in conductus-type *Sanctus* settings: out of twenty-seven such settings in the *Old Hall MS.*, only one has this trope.⁷

As already pointed out, there are so far no concordances with other manuscripts containing single settings of *Agnus Dei* and *Sanctus*,⁸ or groups of settings, such as those in the *Fountains Fragment* or the *Old Hall MS.* There are, however, strong stylistic links between many of these sources, showing that the conductus-type was well known in various parts of England during the fourteenth century, and was much in favour as a simple and effective kind of composition whose liturgical aptness (as characterized by exceptionally well-behaved plainsong tenors) could never be questioned. Although there are occasional unprepared discords which would upset composers of the succeeding generation,



other types of discord, notably the cadential $\frac{5}{3}$, may be seen among the conductus settings of the *Old Hall MS.*:

No. 6 (Benedictus)

Old Hall Ms. (f. 84) (Benedictus)

[exel] - sis

[exel] - sis

Lengthy sequences of insular flavour are by no means uncommon,

No. 7 (Sanctus)

Ple - - - ni

sunt

⁶ Robert Carver's Mass *Pater Creator Omnium* in the *Scone Choirbook* (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 5/1/15).

⁷ Anon. (f. 84); printed in the *Old Hall Manuscript*, III, 18.

⁸ Worcester Cathedral Library, Add. MS. 68, f. xix^v—facsimile and transcriptions in Hughes: *Worcester Medieval Harmony*, pp. 58–61 (*Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, London, 1928); Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 2713; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. d. 143, f. 1.

while fauxbourdon style appears for a moment in the one group of *Agnus* settings where the plainsong is allowed to stray from its rightful path:



In other items, the frequent use of rapid melodic figuration in consecutive fourths and fifths recalls the intabulations of Fauvel motets in the *Robertsbridge MS.*:



An incomplete or damaged document invites conjecture and repair: and it may not be impossible to reconstruct the major part of this new source so that the music can be performed, thus shedding new light on the state of music in medieval England.

An *Agnus Dei* from the Public Record Office Manuscript is printed overleaf.

AGNUS DEI (second section)

Agnus Dei qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-dai mi-se-re-re no-bis

SOME NOTES ON THE MUSIC OF ANTHONY MILNER

Bernard Naylor

The name of Anthony Milner is beginning to emerge from obscurity, and the time has come to treat him seriously. The best way to do this is to perform his music, and already Milner has had some success here: his cantata *Salutatio angelica*, his *Improperia* and his Mass for unaccompanied voices have all appeared on the Third Programme, and the first and last have received public or semi-public performances elsewhere. The first work of Milner's I heard was his *Improperia* when it was broadcast eighteen months or so ago, and I was so struck by it that I welcome this opportunity of turning my unpractised hand to a few appreciative notes on this piece and those others which I have already mentioned.

Milner's music is usually tonal and severely contrapuntal, but the severity of his contrapuntal thought is softened by the singing quality of every line that he writes. Consider the opening of *Salutatio angelica*:

Adagio

or the close of *Improperia*:

Tranquillo

Re - spon

Re - cte:

Re - spon

de, re - spon

de, re -

Re - spon

de, re - spon

de, mi - hi -

p

Nor is this singing quality less pronounced in concerted movements for voices and instruments, even when the rhythms become complex and the phrases are cut up. Here the voices take on still more of the character of instruments than they often show, without appearing 'unvocal' or imposing a more than legitimate strain on them. Compare these two fragments: one from the largest and most magnificent movement of *Salutatio angelica*; the other (on page 19) from the third section of *Improperia*:

Allegro con brio

mf

Cont. Solo A - ve Ma - ni - a, gra - tia

Vla. mp

vic

ple - na, gra tie ple na

Handwritten musical score for organ and orchestra. The score consists of several staves: an organ staff at the top with a forte dynamic (f) and a 'Salvato' instruction; an orchestra staff below it with a dynamic 'p' and a 'Org.' instruction; and multiple staves for the orchestra, including strings and woodwinds. The score is in common time and includes a tempo marking 'Allegro' at the bottom. The handwriting is in black ink on white paper.

Occasionally Milner's contrapuntal exuberance gets the better of him and, as in many movements of J. S. Bach, it is difficult to hear the music for the notes. But this defect is less observable in *Improperia* than in *Salutatio angelica*, the earlier work of the two. In *Improperia* there is more recourse to figuration, a device that can encourage forward, as opposed to circular, movement more readily than contrapuntal lines, however thematic.

What, now, of the purely harmonic part of Milner's language? This, unlike that of many contrapuntally-driven composers, has peculiar eloquence. But it is a part of his language that Milner uses sparingly; he seems to reserve it for the most intimate moments in his works. It is probably no accident that the *Kyrie* and the *Agnus Dei*, to go no further, in his unaccompanied Mass are almost entirely harmonic, or that the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* have such strong harmonic associations, viz.: E flat major to A major, or the dominant of D, for the *Sanctus*; D major to A sharp major, or B flat major, or the dominant of E flat, for the

Benedictus. Milner's moments of pure harmony are short-breathed, and I look forward to the time when he will add more of the contrapuntal element to them and so enable them to expand. This he affectingly does at the *Christe eleison* of the Mass, but he tends to confine himself to phrases like these:

Adagio non troppo

Ec - ce, ec - ce - an - cilla Do - mi - ni.

from *Salutatio angelica*, and

Lento

sa - p - agnus De - , qui tollis pre - cta - ta

mi - serere no - lis.

mi - se - re - no - lis.

from the Mass. I do not suggest that the phrase from *Salutatio angelica* and its later companion, set to the words *Et verbum caro factum est*, are not perfect in their context, but there is danger of the terse phrase so turning in on itself as to imprison its meaning. I feel that the *Kyrie* of the Mass contains such phrases, e.g.:

Largo

Ky - nie e - le - i - son.

Ky - nie e - le - i - son.

Ky - nie e - son.

Milner's finest work, so far, is *Improperia*. *Salutatio angelica* has formal balance, striking contrasts and a pervasive lyrical charm. It shows, moreover, a keen instrumental sense. The Mass, in its *Gloria*, at least, displays a highly developed feeling for vocal polyphony. *Improperia* embodies all these things but possesses a quality which, by comparison, is only hinted at in the other works: the quality of mystery. I felt, as I listened to it, that I was taking part in an actual mystery, to become no more than a spectator of it during the instrumental interlude of whose significance I was only dimly aware. What was tradition, I wondered? It was largely a matter of what one was used to, and the difference between this sort of person and that was that that sort of person did not need to help being what he was. Milner's music was the antithesis of insular.

NOTES:

Anthony Milner was born in Bristol on May 13, 1925.

Salutatio angelica, Cantata for Contralto or Mezzo-soprano solo, Mixed Choir of 14-20 voices and Orchestra of 3 violins, 3 violas, 2 violoncellos and 1 double bass with flute, oboe and bassoon. Finished in 1948, orchestration revised in 1951, and chosen for performance at the 1953 I.S.C.M. Festival at Oslo.

Improperia, for Double Mixed Choir, Organ and String Orchestra (1949).

Mass (without Credo) for Mixed Choir *a cappella* (1951).

Quartet for oboe and strings (1953).

JOHN DUNSTABLE AND LATE MEDIEVAL MUSIC IN ENGLAND

Gilbert Reaney

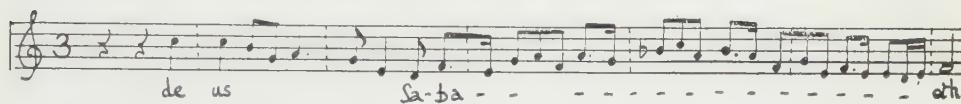
The name of John Dunstable is very well known to most English musicians, but few know his compositions, because most of the available transcriptions—and there are hardly any of his works that have not been transcribed—are to be found in rare editions of old music such as the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*. At the risk of anticipating the complete edition of Dunstable's works now being prepared by Professor Bukofzer, I shall attempt here to give a brief account of his music and its background.

We know few details about his life. He died in 1453, and was buried in the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. His interests included mathematics and astronomy, and although we do not possess a musical treatise by him, his abilities as a theorist may be taken for granted; for it is unlikely that anyone who was an expert in the three other subjects of the quadrivium was not equally gifted in the science of music. He must have spent much of his time abroad, as most of his music is contained in continental manuscripts. He was, in fact, a member of the group of musicians maintained by the Duke of Bedford, who was constantly on the Continent during the last thirteen years of his life, from 1422 to 1435.

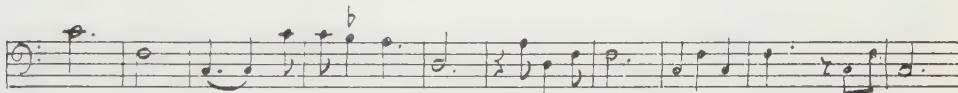
Dunstable was probably slightly younger than his most famous English contemporary, Lionel Power, with whom he is often confused in the manuscripts, and whose importance he has obscured. He was considered the head of the English school in the first half of the fifteenth century; Martin le Franc (c. 1440), for instance, points out that Dufay and Binchois, the leaders of the Franco-Burgundian school contemporary with Dunstable, had taken on his style; and Tinctoris (c. 1446–1511) defines the English school, and Dunstable in particular, as the very fountain-head of the new art followed by the continental masters.

In spite of the opinions of his contemporaries, it is difficult for us to understand the essence of Dunstable's greatness. Van den Borren sees it in the suavity of the melodic line, Bukofzer and Dom Anselm Hughes in the harmony, and Bukofzer again in certain formal aspects. Machabey, however, has made a study of the harmonies and cadences in many of Dunstable's works, and sees no reason to rank him so highly in this respect. Probably Dunstable's most far-reaching technical discovery was the integration of the melodic line by means of the typically English interval of the third; but although his liking for this interval so often leads him to abandon conjunct movement, he still succeeds in creating a flow of melody that is not only distinctive, but also remarkably smooth. A good example is the *Sanctus*

De gaudiorum premia, printed in *Musica Disciplina*—II (1948), pp. 70–72. The leaps of a third are often balanced by a return to the note inside the third, e.g., d-f-e; but just as often the melodic line is continued in the direction of the leap. Sometimes there are two successive thirds moving in the same direction, or two tetrachords with a leap of a third inside each. Dunstable evidently thinks of the octave as a fifth subdivided into two thirds, and a fourth subdivided into a third and a second. A figure he uses frequently is the *Alma redemptoris mater*—like motif: c-e-(f)-g-a-g; but more striking is this passage from the Sanctus quoted above, showing just how much he loves to dwell on the interval of the third.



Dunstable is happier working within the compass of an octave than Dufay and Binchois, for example; and this is largely because he prefers the major modes. In isorhythmic works, e.g., *Albanus roseo—Quoque ferendus*¹, the tenor naturally has to follow the course of the pre-existent tenor, which usually proceeds conjunctly. Interesting in this respect is the isorhythmic motet *Preco preheminencie—Precursor*², where the tenor moves more or less conjunctly, while its companion voice, the contratenor, not being built on a *cantus firmus* is free to move at the composer's will.



It is true that this contratenor is similar to many continental contratenors of the period, but Dunstable avoids their jerkiness and has a firmer feeling for tonality. Probably these qualities result from secular influence, as do the harmonic tenor lines of certain late fourteenth-century French composers. Compare, for instance, the tenor of Baude Cordier's circular canon *Tout par compas*.



An earlier example is Machaut's *Ma fin est mon commencement*³. Dunstable's tenor lines are usually more conservative than this.

¹ *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XL, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, p. 351.

One feature of Dunstable's *Cantus* melodies, the so-called Landini cadence (8-7-6-8), so far from being specifically English is in fact derived from plainsong. In cadences where the penultimate could not rise a tone to the final, as in the Lydian mode, the sub-final was extended to the note below and so the semitone was avoided. Machaut sometimes went still further, giving us on at least two occasions the cadence 8-7-6-5-8. Dunstable liked the Landini cadence because of the leap of a third at the end; and here again Dufay and Binchois may have followed him, though Italian influence may also have been important.

Leaps of a third in Dunstable's contratenors are sometimes carried to the extremes of chain sevenths and ninths, e.g., G-b-d-f; G-d-f-a. These patterns are reminiscent of Minnesinger songs such as Neithart von Reuenthal's *Der May*⁴; for leaps of a third are also characteristic of early German music. Many examples may be found in Peter Wagner's edition of the *Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig* (1930-32).

In the early fifteenth century, however, the Germans could not rival the brilliant English school, of which the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds was a very important centre. It was this part of England that was most closely in touch with recent innovations on the Continent. The fourteenth-century Oxford fragment (Bodleian MS. E. Mus. 7) contains music well in keeping with *Ars Nova* tendencies, and has two concordances with continental manuscripts of the period. This fragment, originally from Bury, is probably slightly older than the Bury version of the anonymous treatise *Quatuor Principalia Musicae*, dating from c. 1400, which quotes frequently from Philippe de Vitry and mentions one French motet, the anonymous *Tant a sotile pointure* which occurs in two French manuscripts of advanced tendencies in the second half of the fourteenth century. The same Bury manuscript also contains the treatise of Egidius de Murino⁵, whose short study of notational signs and motet composition is a useful guide to French musical practice in the fourteenth century. Egidius was well acquainted with the complicated notation of the late *Ars Nova*, and thus we need not be surprised to find that the thoroughly English *Old Hall* manuscript, written about 1420, is one of the monuments of this notation. Whatever the nationality of Egidius, the Belgian influences shown in the *Quatuor Principalia Musicae* prove beyond a doubt that there were connexions between England and the Continent. The first part of this work is a direct copy of the treatise of Lambertus, who in turn draws on John of Afflighem, a member of the Belgian theoretical school centred in Liège to which Lambertus also belonged. And we find evidence of close relations between England and the Continent even earlier than this, in the one or two English treatises on the measurement of organ pipes dating from the twelfth century. Most of the writings on this subject were by South German theorists, and the English treatise of Gillebertus (published by Handschin in *Acta Musicologica*, XIV (1942)) draws heavily on them.

⁴ Apel and Davidson, *Historical Anthology of Music*, No. 20c.
Coussemaker, *Scriptores III*, 118-128.

When we turn from theory to the field of practical music, we find that too much stress has been laid on the insular nature of English methods of composition. English Discant certainly had its own special technique, and it is also true that the French song forms—the *Ballade*, *Rondeau* and *Virelai*—left practically no mark here. In a district like Worcester, well away from the Continent, conservatism was inevitable; but one of the most important treatises on the Paris Notre-Dame school was copied at Bury St. Edmunds in the thirteenth century, and there are traces of works from the Notre-Dame repertoire in a Bury manuscript now at Cambridge. Compositions in the French language were not popular in England—a fourteenth-century motet by Mayhuet de Joan had to be specially translated from French into Latin—but French secular music was in any case less interesting to the English, because they were concerned above all with sacred polyphony. In this respect, the Ordinary of the Mass has great importance for English musicians of the late Middle Ages. While in France the earliest polyphonic Mass Ordinaries date from about the second third of the fourteenth century, in England they must start something like a century earlier.⁶ Practically every important MS. fragment of English music in the fourteenth century is liturgical, and movements for the Ordinary of the Mass become increasingly numerous. As against this, the only significant traces of the French *Ballade*, *Rondeau* and *Virelai* occur in Chaucer, who remodelled some of Machaut's works in English; but these were not provided with music.

How are we to explain the great appeal of English harmonies for the composers of the European mainland? Clearly it was more than just a matter of thirds and sixths superseding fifths and octaves, since Dufay still found English harmonies striking, although thirds and sixths had already appeared a century earlier in Jehannot de L'Escurel, Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut. But while these composers had continued to make the perfect consonances, unison, fifth, octave and twelfth, the basis of their harmonic structure, English Discant was often little more than a simple plainsong tenor with two upper voices moving above it in thirds and sixths. Cadences demanded the octave and fifth, but that was an adjustment that could easily be made. Constant note-against-note movement made many accidentals necessary, and these are often inserted in the manuscripts.

The next development was the melodic coloration of the upper voice, which corresponds with the method of discanting described in the *Quatuor Principalia*. The popularity of this technique in fourteenth-century England—it dates at least from the end of the thirteenth century—is shown by the number of times it appears in the few manuscript fragments that survive. Slight ornamentation of the highest part is the rule, and this is true also of the plainsong tenors. The *mene* or middle voice, which fills in the harmony, is the most conservative. If this is the case with the following note-against-note *Et in terra*⁷

⁶ Handschin has suggested an English origin for certain movements of the Ordinary of the Mass preserved in the Paris MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15129, and such works are not otherwise to be found in the Paris school. (See J. Handschin, *Gregorianisch-Polyphones aus der Handschrift Paris, B.N. lat. 15129*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, XXV (1930), 66 (transcriptions pp. 71 ff.; also one piece in *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, I (1924), Appendix, 6)).

⁷ From a hitherto unnoticed fragment in the British Museum MS. Add. 40725, f.i (a single flyleaf).

[fragment
begins
here]

bo-ne volun-ta - bis lau - - da-mus te Be-ne-di-ci - mus te A - do-ra-mus te

glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te Gracias a - gi-mus ti - - bi prop-ter ma-gna-mus glo-ri-am tu - am

and with many other similar movements from the Mass Ordinary⁸, it is also true of the upper voices of the isorhythmic motet *Quare fremuerunt*.⁹

[Q]ua - re fre - mu - e - runt men - tes in - sa - ne quo - rum fi - - unt men - tes et

Qua - re fre - mu - e - runt men - tes in - sa - ne quo - rum fi - - unt men - tes et

po - pu - li me - di - ta - ti sunt i - na - ri - a plu - ri - ma

po - pu - li me - di - ta - ti sunt i - na - ri - a plu - ri - ma

⁸ E.g., British Museum MS. Sloane 1210, f. 138.

⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 140v-141.

The same text is used in both upper voices, but the *motetus* constantly adds a few words during the breaks in the *triplum*. It is interesting to compare this work with the motet on the same text in the *Roman de Fauvel*, which is only for two voices, though it proceeds in note-against-note style throughout.

Qua - re fre- mu---e runt gen-les et po-pu - li

qui - a non yde-nant mon - -stra tot o - - cu - li

How far the music of the *Roman de Fauvel* influenced English composers in the fourteenth century it is difficult to say. But we do know that Philippe de Vitry was greatly esteemed in England, and there are several of his works in the *Roman de Fauvel*. Moreover, the so-called Fauvel notation was widely used in England at this period. Both in the *Roman* and in England there is a preference for the developed form of Petronian motet, in which declamatory, syllabic passages contrast with long notes in modal rhythm. Both, again, favour the use of imperfect consonances in rapid declamation. The three-part *Rondeau* by Jehannot de L'Escurel in the *Fauvel* manuscript forms a parallel with the English pieces in conductus style, though its spiritual ancestors are the *Rondeaux* of Adam de la Halle.

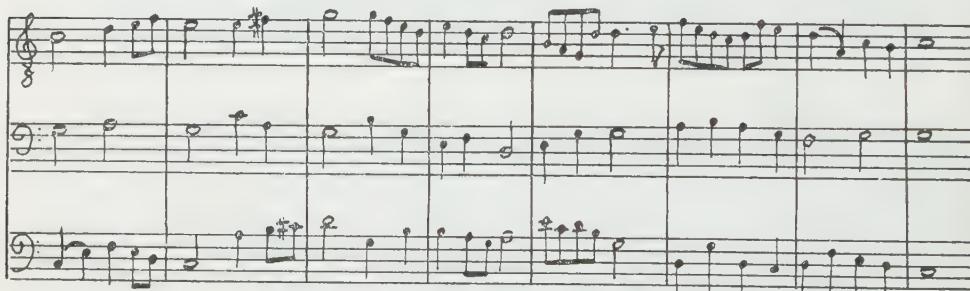
All this suggests that the relations between English and French music in the fourteenth century may not have been as one-sided as many used to think, though France remained the centre of musical life as in the thirteenth century, and English musicians were attracted to the Continent rather than vice versa. This, however, may often have been the result of circumstance, as for instance when John Aleyn, who wrote a motet in the French manner enumerating the members of an English choir (including *de muris!*), followed the Earl of Derby to Europe in 1391, and the Duke of Lancaster in 1396. And Dunstable himself, as we have seen, almost certainly accompanied the Duke of Bedford to the Continent in 1422.

The frequent visits of English musicians at this time must have been a great stimulus to the Franco-Burgundians. They may have known that the English had a unique method of discanting, but probably did not realize with what artistry it

could be used until they heard the works of Dunstable. Here was no mere improvisation. Contrary motion was preserved in the harmonic progressions through the crossing of voices, and the paraphernalia of *Ars Nova* music was retained, but harnessed to a pure melody of a clarity hitherto unknown. Rhythmic inelegancies were discarded. The subtleties remained. The interval of the third was combined with itself in triads, not in the tentative manner of a Machaut, but without fear that such sweetness would hurt the ear.

The smoothness of Dunstable's writing is largely due to his use of $\frac{3}{4}$ time rather than the previously favoured $\frac{6}{8}$. This again was probably new for the Dufay school, at least when used in Dunstable's systematic way. For variety, he changes from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{6}{8}$, as the late *Ars Nova* composers changed from $\frac{6}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$; but he preferred duple rhythm to a pure $\frac{6}{8}$. This liking for binary rhythm is another characteristic shared in common by English music¹⁰ and German Minnesong.

The opening of *Kyrie IV* from the British Museum MS. Arundel 14 shows the kind of work with which Dunstable was probably familiar in his youth.¹¹



An interesting example of Dunstable's use of binary rhythm is the *Patrem* from the Bologna MS. Q. 15.¹² Here the piece begins in imperfect time, goes into $\frac{6}{8}$ at *Et resurrexit* and returns to imperfect time at *Et vitam venturi*. The use of $\frac{6}{8}$ time suggests that this is an early work; while the motets from the *Modena* MS., particularly the non-isorhythmic ones, are very probably of later date.¹³

Dunstable used every form of composition available to him, though, in true English manner, he had little time to waste on secular works. He made up for this,

¹⁰ Interesting examples are the binary motet (probably English) from the 13th-century *Montpellier* manuscript H.196; an English motet from Oxford MS. Bodleian Hatton 30 (see Bukofzer, 'Sumer is icumen in', *A revision*, 83 ff.); and Bukofzer's reconstruction of the original binary form of *Sumer is icumen in* (*op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 111).

¹¹ For Dunstable himself see *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XL, 42, bar 77; 49, bar 81; 51, bar 81; 52, bar 87, etc.

¹² Transcribed in J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation*, II/III, No. 73.

¹³ The later date is suggested by the arrangement of all the English works in this MS. in one fascicle. See *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XL.

however, by using for liturgical music the style associated with secular compositions, and using it very successfully, though he was not the first to do so.

Only three secular songs can be attributed to Dunstable: the famous *O Rosa Bella*, *Durez ne puis*, and the three-part *Puisque m'amour*, which is evidently instrumental; but it is doubtful whether any of them is really by him. It was much more to his taste to apply the *Ballade* or *cantilena* style to liturgical works, with or without a plainsong melody in the *Cantus*. He used a form similar to that of the three-part hymns in the fourteenth-century *Apt* manuscript, with a vocal *Cantus* over two supporting, presumably instrumental, parts. In this manuscript the plainsong appears unornamented in the *superius*, but a characteristic of English medieval music was the flowering or paraphrasing of the plainsong melody, and Handschin has noted this in English motets of the thirteenth century.¹⁴ Typical of these forms are Dunstable's *Regina coeli*, in *cantilena* style with plainsong in the *Cantus*; *Salve Regina*, apparently without plainsong coloration; and *Ascendit Christus*, with plainsong in tenor and *Cantus*. Handschin has traced this last type in an English work of the thirteenth century, though there the plainsong is not paraphrased.¹⁵

It is inadvisable to classify these forms any more closely, because of the interaction of one on another, e.g., the use of the forms of secular song for a liturgical purpose. It is also dangerous to classify them from a chronological point of view. For example, the consummate mastery of the *Ascendit Christus* suggests that this must be a late work; yet if we went by its use of the English Discant style alone, or by the fact that it is laid out in alternate sections for two and three voices respectively,¹⁶ we might decide that it belonged to Dunstable's earlier period.

The form of the isorhythmic motet is quite clear, though here again Dunstable makes some innovations. Only in these large-scale works does he write for more than three voices, and the four four-part motets are of considerable interest. Further research may reveal the use of plainsong melodies as the basis of other voices than the tenor, as occurs, for example, in the famous *Veni sancte spiritus*, where both treble and tenor use the melody of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*. The tenor is divided up rhythmically in the usual way and the treble has a slightly decorated version of the melody.

An analysis of one or two motets will show how completely Dunstable has assimilated the technique of isorhythmic writing. The tenor *Albanus domini* of the three-part motet *Albanus roseo-quoque ferendus*¹⁷ is repeated three times and each

¹⁴Cf. the well-known *Alle, psallite*, Apel and Davidson, *Historical Anthology of Music*, No. 33a.

¹⁵See *Musica Disciplina*, V (1951), 85.

¹⁶It is true, however, that variation in the number of voices between one part of a piece and another is an English characteristic. A *Gloria* and *Credo* by Lionel from the *Old Hall* manuscript are successively in two, three and five parts. Handschin has also traced this technique back to the thirteenth century.

¹⁷*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XL, 32.

melodic statement (*color*) consists of three repetitions of a basic rhythmic pattern (*talea*). Isorhythm is practically continuous in the upper voices, though the strict rhythmic pattern is occasionally broken by rests. As often in Machaut, all the values of the final *color* are reduced by half. The time also changes in the two upper voices at each repetition of the tenor melody; in modern terms, from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{2}{4}$ to $\frac{6}{8}$. This plan may serve as a guide to other isorhythmic motets, which often have only two *taleae*, but still retain the diminution in the third *color* and the changes of time.

That Dunstable could write in the strictest manner is proved by his four-part isorhythmic motets, e.g., *Gaude virgo—Virgo mater*.¹⁸ Here, at the beginning of each tenor *color*, there is a duet; and the contratenor also follows strict rhythmic patterns. Each *color* has three *taleae*. While unable to keep up the strict melodic repetitions of the tenor, the contratenor has its own rhythmic repetitions in the first and second *color*. In the final *color*, it begins like the tenor by diminishing the melody and rhythm of the second *color*, but then continues more freely, though following the pattern of the second *color* as far as possible. In works of this kind Dunstable seems to have been influenced less by the youthful Dufay than by composers like Carmen.

It is difficult to say where Dunstable has used traditional English methods, and where he has adopted those of continental composers. The isorhythmic motet was popular both in England and France at the beginning of the fifteenth century; on the other hand, the English Discant and the *Gymel*, a two-part form harmonized mainly in thirds and forming the basis of the motet *Crux fidelis*,¹⁹ are clearly English in origin. In this motet the *cantus firmus* is in the middle voice, and both this and the *gymel* technique suggest a fairly early date, before continental influences had made their mark.

Bukofzer has defined another type of work by Dunstable as the 'declamatory' motet. One example he gives is *Quam pulcra es*.²⁰ But moving, as it does, note against note, this motet in fact can hardly help being declamatory. The use of declamation is really more a feature of style than of form, and the motets of Petrus de Cruce and the *Roman de Fauvel* could also be called declamatory.

Some of Dunstable's works defy classification. There are a number of motets which seem to be in the most recent style, using no plainsong coloration in tenor or Cantus, and yet different from the works in *cantilena* style because the two upper voices have the same text. This characteristic may have come from secular songs such as Baude Cordier's *Dame Excellent*.²¹ The use of identical texts in the *chanson*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XL, 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, 183.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, 190; *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, 3rd ed., I, 744.

²¹ *Oxford MS. Can. misc.*, 213 f. 116.

probably arose from the techniques of canon and imitation that were especially favoured there. The song by Cordier begins imitatively.

It will be seen that Dunstable, like Dufay and Binchois, makes use of the most varied musical forms, not as set moulds but as patterns to be adapted according to his needs or according to the occasion. These patterns may be varied not only in themselves, but also by the interaction of one on another. Thus the technique of English Discant may be combined with plainsong coloration in tenor and discant, plainsong coloration may be used in the isorhythmic motet; and so on. The result is an increased flexibility of form and an advance towards the free motet with text in all voices. As the isorhythmic motet went out of fashion, so did the simultaneous use of different texts. And while in the *cantilena* motet the *Cantus* had been supported by two textless voices, now we find the two upper voices having the same text and the third one supporting them. The equality of all voices was not far distant.

In setting the Ordinary of the Mass, composers tended to use the same techniques as in the motet, though isorhythm does not occur at all often. Dunstable favours English Discant and the *cantilena* style. These were traditional enough, as we have seen. Yet we learn that exceptions are almost as much the rule with him as with Haydn. The following example, in spite of its English Discant style, is more like an isorhythmic motet in the way the opening is laid out. The *cantus firmus* is, of course, in the tenor.

Dunstable's one *Kyrie*²² is freely composed in all three parts, and is in the

²² *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XXXI, 106.

English Discant style with its homophonic chain of thirds and sixths. The succeeding *Gloria* is noteworthy for its telescoping of the text. This is a feature of English settings of the Mass and its function in the *Gloria* and *Credo* is to make sure that the music will not be too long for liturgical requirements. If we want to see just how long such movements could otherwise be, we need only turn to Machaut and the Tournai Mass. The English technique is to sing different parts of the text at once. Bukofzer maintains, however, that this practice was not exclusively English, as a movement of a Mass telescoped in the same way is found in the early fifteenth-century *Cyprus* manuscript. But this remains, so far, the only continental example. In the *Gloria* mentioned above,²³ the superius has the text from *Et in terra* to *Deus Pater omnipotens*, the tenor from *Domine Fili* to *deprecationem nostram*, and the contratenor from *Qui sedes* to *Dei Patris*; then all three voices sing a concluding *Amen*. No *cantus firmus* has been traced as yet, the rhythm is imperfect and the style again mostly note-against-note. At the end of the *Gloria* the three parts become four. The following *Et in terra* with the trope *Spiritus et alma* is a fine example of plainsong figuration in the Cantus. Except that it alternates between two- and three-part writing, it is similar to the preceding works.²⁴

The *Et in terra* and *Patrem*,²⁵ closely connected in style and key, provide a striking example of an incipient Mass cycle. The tenor *cantus firmus* is taken from the Responsory *Christe fili dei* and is laid out in long notes all of the same value (*tenor ordinatus*). The highest voice paraphrases the *Gloria* and *Credo* melodies, for it is always the appropriate melody that is paraphrased in the upper voice, while the text and melody of the tenor are borrowed from outside the Mass. In this present case the two upper voices form a duet, which sometimes proceeds on its own, is sometimes joined by the third voice, and is declamatory in style. The tenor melody is repeated once in each movement.

The cyclic Mass was of fundamental importance in the fifteenth century. Composers in the previous century had quite often related certain movements of the Mass to each other: in Machaut's setting, for example, the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus* are linked together by the fact that they are all built on a pre-existent tenor, as in a motet; while the *Gloria* and *Credo*, by contrast, are written in note-against-note style and are in song-form. It seems to have been English influence which led to the idea of keeping the same melody in the tenor through all five movements, as in Dufay's Masses *Caput* and *Se le face ay pale*, Dunstable's Mass *Rex Seculorum* (attributed to Lionel in the *Trent Codices*), and the Mass based on an unnamed *cantus firmus* in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XXXI, 119-126.

Other Mass cycles with borrowed tenors in the earliest sources are by English composers, and so they seem to have made an essential contribution to the development of this form. The system of plainsong coloration, which may owe a good

²³ *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XXXI, 107.

²⁴ The Sarum version of the trope is used throughout, and not just in the notes marked by Ficker.

²⁵ *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XXXI, 114 and 117.

deal to Dunstable and the English, is not itself a means of achieving unity, because the plainsong is different in each section of the Mass. More important is the so-called *Kopfmotiv* or motto-theme which stands at the head of each movement in certain Mass cycles, by Arnold de Lantins and Jo. de Lymburgia, for example. This procedure, however, is rare with the English.

The great influence of English methods of composition on the continental school of Dufay and Binchois is shown in the adoption of *fauxbourdon*, a style which used the thirds and sixths of English Discant, but placed the plainsong in the treble instead of in the tenor. A new feeling for sweet harmonies had come into being, and the reorganization of melody followed. With the disappearance of the isorhythmic motet and the rise of new and freer types of composition heralded by Dunstable and Dufay, an epoch was coming to an end. While still setting liturgical texts, music now took first place. The unity of the Mass Ordinary came before the requirements of the liturgy, leading, as we have seen, to the Mass cycle; and the melody of a Dunstable proclaimed a new and more subjective approach to art.

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DECLAMATION

Tenor or Soprano Solo

From 'Devotions', John Donne

Priaulx Rainier

m. 1 = 76

12 *Nunc, leu... to — son... i... tu — di... cuit, Mar... i... e ris* The

10 *Bell — doth toll — for him — that thinks — it doth.*

P *Mar... i... e... ris* who casts not up his Eye — to the Sonne — when it

5 *ri... — ses? but who takes off his eye from a Comer when that breaks out?*

10 *Who — bends not his ear — to any Bell — which upon any oe... cas... ion rings?*

4 *Mar... i... e... ris* which is passing a

10 *piece of him — self out of this worlde —*

12 *Nunc, leu... to — son... i... tu — di... cuit* Mar... i... e... ris

10 *No man — is an Is... laude — eu... line of its... self*

THE LUTE IN ENGLAND

David Lumsden

Until the fifteenth century there was little, if any, music written solely for instruments. The great traditions of the Church were largely vocal, with the organ sometimes helping the congregation or drowning the inefficiency of the choir. Similarly, secular instrumental music was confined mainly to the accompaniment of ballads and songs, giving support to the voice and underlining the meaning of the words. But just as the organ freed itself from vocal music through the playing of solo arrangements of alternate verses in certain of the Offices, so the lute gained its first halting independence in making simple direct transcriptions. Familiar forms, based on the demands of word-setting, acted as a support helping instrumental music to gain experience and strength enough eventually to stand on its own.

Although Petrucci published in Italy beautifully printed lute music at the beginning of the sixteenth century, music showing considerable experience of lute-writing and thus presupposing an even earlier school of lutanist-composers, the first recorded English source of lute music is a later manuscript in the British Museum known as *Royal Appendix* 58. Most authorities agree that this 'commonplace book' dates from about 1540, as nearly as one can date a book which was obviously used and added to day by day throughout a life-time's work. It contains two types of lute music: transcriptions of songs known to be popular at a slightly earlier date; and a variety of ground-bass known as the 'dump'. Thus already in our earliest source we discover two of the most important and enduring influences in all lute music: simple transcriptions of vocal music, virtually note for note, forming the known experience from which the composer launches out into an unknown medium; and also the first sign of true independence, the short two- or four-bar phrase acting as a solid bass above which to weave more and more confident variations.

As his skill increased the lutanist arranged more complicated music. Having begun with simple, homophonic tunes, his attention was soon attracted to contrapuntal vocal music. Then, having mastered the technique of insinuating counterpoint upon the lute, the next logical step was to abandon transcriptions altogether and to write original pieces without words, but still employing the formal principle of successive imitative entries belonging to vocal counterpoint. These independent pieces, called Fantasias or Fancies, are the earliest examples of abstract, non-functional instrumental music; and they alone would be enough to establish the lute's importance.

But by far the greatest influence in the lute's repertoire was the courtly dance imported from the Continent. Just as the waltz is now preserved for us in the music of Johann Strauss, so the pavan and galliard, long forgotten in the ballroom, live on in the stylized versions of Dowland and his contemporaries. The regular accent of the dance was quite new in organized music at that time, and the lute played a vital part in establishing it.

Thus a solo repertoire was built up, though composers still did not forget the lute in its former rôle as an accompanying instrument. In 1597 Dowland brought out his *First Book of Airs*, heralding a swarm of such publications over the next thirty years. Some of these songs were immensely popular in the early part of the seventeenth century, especially in arrangements for lute or for keyboard. *If my complaints* (number four of Dowland's 1597 set) appears, for example, no fewer than eight times arranged for solo lute, often under the name of *Captain Piper's Galliard*; while *Can she excuse* (number five of the same set) appears six times and the famous *Lachrimæ Pavan* as many as twenty times.

Nor was the lute confined to solo and accompaniment work. There are many pieces for two lutes (even sometimes for four), for lute and viol and for lute in a larger 'broken consort'. In 1599 Morley published his *Consort Lessons* with parts for treble and bass viols, bass recorder, cittern, pandora and lute; and these were followed in 1605 by Dowland's *Lachrimæ, or Seven Tears*, consisting of 'seven passionate pavans with divers other Pavans, Galliards and Almands' for strings and lute. In this work, the lute is a kind of continuo instrument, filling in the chords played by the strings and adding occasional scale-passages, particularly at cadences.

In its variety of uses, its popularity, and its huge solo repertoire, the lute at this period may be compared with our modern pianoforte. Yet after 1620 it declined into utter oblivion; and the reasons for this fall from grace were as inevitable as they were unforeseen. Although the lute could hold its own against the viol, recorder or bandora, it could not compete with the powerful violin family which grew up in the middle of the seventeenth century; or with the harpsichord. It excelled in detail and in sheer beauty of sound; and such things naturally did not come first with composers who were busy finding new means of great dramatic effect. In England these musical experiments coincided with the upheaval of the Civil War. The court and great houses no longer enjoyed the gentler art of music, and the lute tradition was broken.

The Restoration did not restore the lute. Thomas Mace, writing in *Music's Monument* in 1676, despite all his eulogies, practical demonstrations, exhortations and designs for bigger, better and (presumably) louder lutes could not change either the tastes of his generation or the course of musical events. Even Dowland, once the most famous virtuoso in Europe, had been neglected in his old age (he died in 1626) and complained of the decadence of the new ideals both of lute-playing and composition brought to London by Jacques Gaultier in 1619. The seeds of this decay can be found even in the music of the 'classical period'

of lute-playing in England—roughly 1595 to 1610—in the break-up of the accepted forms and tunings and in the increased use of ornamentation. But these new ideas never took root in England; when Dowland died the whole school of composers seemed to fade away and the centre of gravity shifted to Paris, where the lute remained popular until about 1725. In Germany it survived for a further half-century. Both Bach and Haydn wrote for the lute.

The first enthusiastic pioneers in the renaissance of the lute in England were usually people whose wide range of interests prevented them from reaching the professional standards demanded on the conventional instruments of to-day; and so 'early' music was considered with suspicion by those accustomed to faultless technique or unable to sense the true nature of the music behind the technical blemishes. The time has now come when musicians have had the encouragement and opportunity to study the lute as they would study any other instrument; the rapid strides in guitar technique achieved by Segovia have provided a great impetus, and we now possess in England a first-class school of lutanists whose technical and musical abilities are at least equal to those of their professional colleagues on other instruments.

* * * * *

Lute music in England reached its greatest excellence between about 1570 and 1620; and many different types of composition were written for the instrument during this period. We have already seen how the fantasia grew out of transcriptions of vocal counterpoint. Around 1600 Dowland wrote two nostalgic fancies employing chromatic points, a device found nowhere else in English lute music, with the exception of two anonymous chromatic fancies, one in the British Museum and the other recently discovered in the *Euing Lute Book* in Glasgow University Library. This wonderful piece begins:

[Slow]

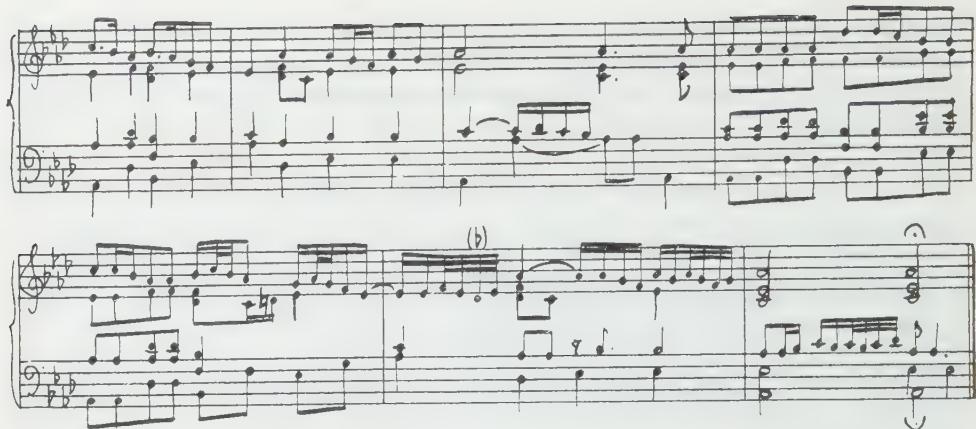
Note what we should call the 'regular counter-subject', which persists later on in the piece. The chromaticism is maintained throughout, and the music never falls into that empty figuration so common in other fancies; on the other hand, it has not such variety in style nor is it so well-knit as Dowland's *Forlorn Hope*

fancy, one of his two chromatic pieces. These are found in the Cambridge University Library collection, the richest source of English lute music, whose six manuscripts contain in all about eight hundred pieces¹, almost half the entire known repertoire.

By far the most common forms, accounting together for roughly 40 per cent. of the repertoire, were the pavan and galliard; the pavan normally a slow, dignified, 'Staide and Grave' dance in duple time and the galliard a more sprightly triple. It is most unusual to find any thematic connexion between the dances, although there are one or two fine exceptions such as Johnson's *Pavan and Galliard to Delight*. The following example is a complete transcription of a Pavan by Brewster, his only surviving work, and is a collation of two versions found in the *Middleton Lute Book* in Nottingham University Library and in the *Dallis Lute Book* in Trinity College, Dublin.

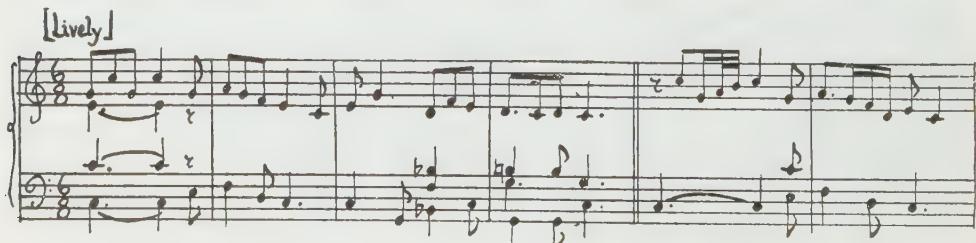
[Slow]

¹ There are altogether about forty English sources, containing two thousand pieces.



The transcription is based on a free interpretation of the rhythmic signs in the tablature, for these do not indicate the length of the note but merely the point in time at which it is to be played. The length of any note is therefore governed solely by musical and technical considerations, and transcriptions of this music into modern notation must never be mere literal translations of the notes. It is essential to remember the limited sustaining power of the lute and the conventions of part-writing, suspension and the like prevalent in the period, with reference especially to virginal music with its irregular number of parts and unashamed consecutives. The form of this pavan is that normally found in all dances, with three equal strains each followed by a 'division'. This technique of division illustrates well the way in which a purely instrumental idiom grew imperceptibly out of vocal tradition; for the first four bars of each strain might well be vocal writing, whereas the division that follows introduces elements unknown in vocal music at that time: rapid scales, turns and ornaments, with great freedom in the number and progression of the parts. The richness of the harmony, the quality of the musical ideas and the unusually complicated key make Brewster's single contribution a remarkable one.

The next example, a popular piece called *Mistress Winter's Jump*, is by Dowland. It is in the same general form as the pavan but with a division to the first strain only. This simple yet effective division, the rhythmic regularity and the chord on the flat seventh of the scale (bars 3 and 7), a reminder that the modal system still has a strong pull at this date (about 1595), are all worthy of note and are characteristic of lute music at its best.





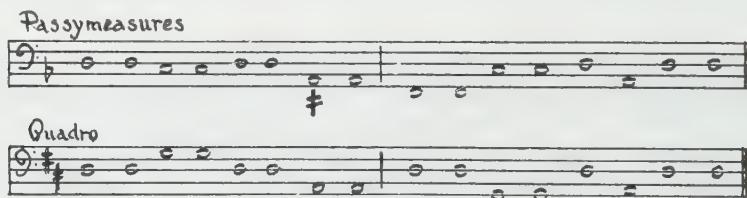
After the pavan and galliard the most popular dance was the Alman, accounting for 10 per cent. of the entire repertoire, while the Jig, Corant and Volt together make up another 10 per cent. The fantasia, for all its importance in the development of instrumental music, occurs much less often than the dances: it represents only 4 per cent. of the total output. This is perhaps not surprising, since the simplest fantasia demands a considerable technique on the part of the performer and only the best players can make them sound convincing. Most of the lute manuscripts were obviously designed for normal everyday use, and it is easy to see which of them had professional and which amateur owners, from the proportion of fantasias each includes. It is also worth recording that foreign composers are almost invariably represented in the English sources by their fantasias, a fact which supports the view that these contrapuntal pieces were largely for professionals. Why no fantasias were ever written in triple time, however, has yet to be explained.

On the other hand, the Jig, Corant and Volt all appear in both duple and triple time, a fact which becomes less perplexing when it is realized that often the composers themselves did not differentiate between these types of dance: in one manuscript the same piece appears twice, first called Corant and then Volt. The most common time for these dances is $\frac{6}{8}$. The Alman is invariably found in duple time, in the classical tripartite form; and it differs from the pavan in length and character of phrase and in tempo, for it is much shorter and livelier.

Duple time is so much the rule at this period that Bacheler and Cutting are quite exceptional in preferring triple time. Similarly the minor keys predominate, possibly because of their modal connexions and because they allow a greater harmonic variety than the more circumspect major keys. The famous description *Semper Dowland semper dolens* applies equally well to the other composers, since the most popular and frequently-copied pieces are in the minor.

The most important category of music, after the dances and fantasias, is the Variation. This may be short and simple, in the division style, or extended and

elaborate. Songs are normally considered suitable subjects for variation, the most popular being *Walsingham*, *Robin is to the greenwood gone*, *Go from my window*, and *Fortune my foe*, all well known in the virginal sources. Sometimes Italian and French songs are used but more often these are merely elaborate translations of the vocal text without any variation proper. The ground-bass with its specialized types, the 'dump', 'hornpipe', 'Quadro' and 'Passymeasures', is another popular type of variation form. The dump is usually founded on a short four-bar bass and is sombre in character, while the hornpipe invariably stands on a Tonic-Subdominant-Dominant-Tonic bass. The Quadro and Passymeasures (or *Passamezzo moderno* and *Passamezzo antico*) are both constructed on a ground of sixteen equal, well-known chords:



These tend to be dull in comparison with the others, possibly because the great majority of them occur early in the period (Dallis's *Lute Book* of 1583 contains more than any other source), and because they may have been considered more as exercises than recital pieces. It may not be only coincidence that almost all are anonymous!

The remainder of the lute solo repertoire is made up of preludes (often contrapuntal tuning exercises), toys (short, lively, dance-like pieces), medleys (chameleon-like, as the name suggests), masques (entr'actes and songs from theatrical productions), marches and many more or less elaborate settings of English and French popular songs, hymns and chorales.

Enough has perhaps now been said to suggest the scope and quality of the lute-music which lies untapped, awaiting our attention and appreciation. Our lutanists are ready to play, our scholars are presenting the music in playable form as fast as they can; it remains only for the discerning public to demand for itself this new and delightful musical experience.

APPENDIX

An Alphabetical List of Composers found in the English Lute Sources

Alison, R.	13	Ferrabosco, A.	15	Newman	4
Ascue, R.	3	Greaves, T.	1	Nicolson, R.	1
Bacheler, D.	37	Green, R.	5	Pearce, E.	4
Blanks	1	Holborne, A.	39	Phillips, P.	12
Bradbery	1	Hollis	1	Pilkington, F.	15
Brewster	1	Jackson, C.	1	Porter	1
Bulman	1	Johnson, E.	1	Reade, R.	20
Byrd, W.	9	Johnson, J.	33	Robinson, T.	5
Cavendish	3	Johnson, R.	10	Rosseter, P.	5
Chamberlayne, J.	2	Kindersley, R.	4	Smith, T.	2
Collarde, E.	9	Knowles	1	Strogers	1
Cutting, F.	51	Lychfyld	1	Sturt, J.	7
Dallis, T.	4	Marchant	2	Tallis, T.	1
Daniel, J.	5	Mathias	3	Taylor	2
Dowland, J.	72	Maynard	6	Vautor, T.	1
Dowland, R.	2	Morley, T.	1	Weston	1
Farrant, D.	1	Mynshall, R.	1	Whitfield, J.	2

The figures give the number of solo pieces that can be attributed with certainty to each composer: a total of 424 excluding duplication—for three or four copies of the same piece are not uncommon while as many as twenty are known of *Lachrimæ*. The list is complete as far as present records show. The most prolific composers are seen to be John Dowland, Francis Cutting, Anthony Holborne, Daniel Bacheler, and John Johnson; and the fact that the general assessment of their musical merits corresponds with this numerical order, suggests perhaps that the lute sources which have survived may be accepted as a fair reflection of the whole Elizabethan scene. It is interesting to observe that J. Johnson and R. Reade are more prolific than Ferrabosco and Pilkington, and to notice the absence of several famous names—notably Gibbons, Tomkins, and Weekes, all of whom were born after 1570. Many of Holborne's pieces are arrangements of dances in his published set of 1599.

It is important to remember, however, that the large majority of pieces (about 70 per cent.) remains completely anonymous and will remain so until it is possible to analyze in minutest detail the lute styles of the leading composers and thus to apportion credit (or blame) for the anonymous pieces. For while the differences in style between the extremes of the period are obvious enough, the transition from one to the other is gradual and subtle, and even a familiar knowledge of the music does not enable the scholar to distinguish with any confidence between one composer and another in the period around 1595.

Strogers, Whyte, Parsons, and Taverner appear frequently as composers of *In Nomines*, but these are usually incomplete and would appear to be for consort. Amongst foreign composers present in the English Lute sources are Orlando di Lasso (with seven pieces), Francesco da Milano (five), Laurencini and Diomedes (two each), Neusidler and Arcadelt (one each). They are represented mostly by fantasias or transcriptions of madrigals and motets.

MOTET FOR ADVENT

(This is the first of a series of nine motets *a cappella*—for Advent Sunday, Christmas Day, Epiphany, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whit-Sunday, and Trinity Sunday. The motets are built round a five-part choir of two trebles, alto, tenor, and bass, with solo parts in some and much division of parts in most. In the motet for Whit-Sunday, for example, there are solo parts for two trebles, some six-part harmony for the men and a passage of four-part harmony for the boys, but the mainstay of the piece remains the five-part choir. The structure of the motet for Advent Sunday is relatively simple, for there are no solos and only a few bars with divided parts (see the passage about the ploughshares and the pruning-hooks.))

Isaiah II *Bernard Taylor*

Allegro

Sop. 1 (C) 2 f *Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,*
 Sop. 2 f *dim.*
 Alto 1 (C) 2 f *Come,*
 Alto 2 f *dim.*
 Tenor f *Come,*
 Bass 1 (B) 2 f *Come,*
 Bass 2 f *dim.*
Come, come, come,

S. (C) 2 f *Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob;*
 Alto 1 (C) 2 f *Come, come,*
 Alto 2 f *dim.* *and he will*
 A. (C) 2 f *Come, come,*
 T. (B) 2 f *Come, come,*
 B. (B) 2 f *Come, come,*

I. $\frac{2}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{2}$ - $\frac{2}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{2}$

S. f - - - f - - -

U. $\frac{2}{2}$ 1 1 1 1 1 3 0 - $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 3
teach us - of his ways, Come,

A. $\frac{2}{2}$ f - $\frac{3}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 3
Come, Come,

T. $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 3
Come, come, and he will teach us - of his

B. $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 9. - $\frac{2}{2}$ 3
Come, come, Come,

S. 2 (C) - 2 - 2 - 2 -

mf

Come,

mf

Come, and we will walk - in his paths,

mf

Come, and we will walk - in his paths,

mf

Come, and we will walk - in his paths,

mf

ways, and we will walk - in his paths,

mf

and we will walk - in his paths,

mf f

I. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

S. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

2. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

B. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

A. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

B. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

I. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

B. Come, — far out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord: —

S. *Lord from - Je - ru - sa - lem,* *from - Te - ru - sa - lem,* *men of* *mf*
 3 2

2. *Come ye,* *Come ye, come - ye.*

A. *Come,* *come,* *come,* *come,* *mf*
 3 2

T. *Come,* *come,* *come,* *come,* *mf*
 3 2

B. *Come,* *Come ye,* *come of* *mf*
 3 2

S. 1 *Half mf* and they, and they shall beat their

A. Come ye, come ye.

T. re-buke - ma - ny people. — and they, and they shall

B. - buke ma - ny people: — and they, and

B. - buke ma - ny people: — and

S. *swords into ploughshares,* 2
 A. *beat their swords into ploughshares,* 2
 and their spears into 2
 T. *they shall beat their swords into ploughshares* 2
 and their spears into 2
 B. *they, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares* 2

S. *and he shall judge among the* 3
 and he shall judge among the 2
 A. *pruning hooks:* 3
 T. *into pruning hooks:* *judge among the* 3
 and he shall judge among the 2

f

S. nations, and shall re- buke ma - ny people: na -
 nations, and shall re- buke ma - ny people: —

A. *f* Come ye, Come ye, come ye,

T. *f* nations, re buke ma - ny people: —

B. *f* nations, and shall re- buke ma - ny people: —

pisf

S. — tion shall not lift up sword - against nation, na -
 — nation shall not lift up sword - against nation, na -

A. *mf* Come ye, come ye, Come ye, come ye,

T. *mf* — nation as ainst nation, na -
 — nation as ainst nation, na -

B. *mf* — nation shall not lift up sword - against nation, —

f

S. — tion shall not lift up sword - against nation, nei -
 — nation shall not lift up sword - against nation, nei -

A. *pisf* Come ye, come ye, Come ye, come ye,

T. *pisf* — nation - against nei - nation - against nei -
 — nation - against nei - nation - against nei -

B. *pisf* — nation shall not lift up sword - against nation, —

5. *Come ye,* *Come ye,* *Come ye,*

6. *Come,* *Come ye,* *Come ye,*

A. *Come —* *and let us walk —* *in the*

T. *Come —* *and let us walk —* *in the*

B. *Come,* *Come ye,* *Come,* *Come,* *Come,*

mezzo f

S. mezzo f Come ye, come ye, mf

T. Come ye, come ye, come ye, Come —

A. Light of the Lord, — of —

T. in the light of the Lord. mf

B. come, — of —

mf

S. Come ye, come — ye.

T. — ye, Come ye.

A. the Lord. —

T. —

B. — the Lord. —

April 1951

COMPOSITIONS BY BERNARD NAYLOR

VOICE AND PIANO

*The Fallen Poplar (Mary Webb), 1947.

Songs of Regret (Three Poems by Mary Webb), 1947.

†To Sleep (Keats), 1949.

†Sleep, O Sleep (John Gay), 1949.

Gentle Sleep (Coleridge), 1952.

Suite (C. Day Lewis), 1947.

*The Ecstatic (C. Day Lewis), 1947.

*A Child's Carol (Arthur L. Salmon), 1947.

Presences (Five Poems by Mary Webb), 1947.

*Roseberries (Mary Webb), 1947.

VOICE AND STRINGS

Cantata for high voice and string orchestra (Rowland Watkyns, seventeenth century), 1947.

Sonnets from the Portuguese, Rhapsody for mezzo-soprano and string quartet (E. B. Browning), 1948.

VOICE(S) AND ORCHESTRA

Four Poems by W. H. Davies for high voice and chamber orchestra, 1935.

*Dreams of the Sea (W. H. Davies), for low voice and orchestra, 1947.

The Annunciation according to St. Luke, for soprano and tenor soli, small mixed chorus and small orchestra, 1949.

King Solomon's Prayer, for soprano solo, small mixed chorus and small orchestra (*Wisdom of Solomon ix*), 1953.

(Commissioned by Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for Coronation of Elizabeth II.)

VOICES ALONE

*Three Motets for mixed voices (Latin words by Bonaventura, Wipo (?) & Anon.), 1948-9.

Dull soul, aspire, motet for double mixed chorus (John Collop, seventeenth century), 1950.

Nine Motets for mixed voices (words from the English Bible), 1951-2.

To Meadows, Part-song for SATB (Herrick), 1952.

INSTRUMENTS ALONE

For the Young Musician, Vol. I: Four Pieces with Two interludes, for piano solo, 1948.

Vol. II: Four Pieces for violin and piano, 1948.

Bagatelle for piano solo, 1950.

*Published by Western Music Co., Vancouver, Canada.

†Published by Augener, Ltd.

THE ENGLISH ORGAN CONCERTO

C. L. Cudworth

In æsthetic matters, island communities such as our own exist in a continual state of compromise between insular 'tradition' and cosmopolitan 'progress'. In music this was never more marked than in the mid-18th century, when these islands produced many talented musicians, but no composers of the first rank. Our composers found it difficult to decide where their allegiance lay, between the 'Antient' style (which we nowadays call Baroque) and their 'Modern' style (which we term Pre-Classic, Rococo or *Galant*). The crisis was both more prolonged and more acute in England than on the Continent partly because of our innate conservatism, partly because of the immense prestige of Handel. Not that he was accepted without reservation as the greatest composer of the age; for although many contemporaries such as Burney, Mainwaring, Fielding and Arbuthnot were out-and-out Handel worshippers, others, like Hawkins, occasionally dared to cast an honest doubt, and others still, like Avison, were sometimes openly hostile, preferring Geminiani and Domenico Scarlatti and even Marcello to Handel himself.

When Handel first came to England he held the immense advantage over our native composers that his technique was more up-to-date than anything they had to offer. But when he died in 1759 his own style was just as antiquated, by general European standards, for in his later years there had been revolutionary changes on the Continent, changes which he had chosen to ignore. By 1759, Italian comic opera and the new German orchestral technique were sweeping away the dying late Baroque style; music was everywhere becoming lighter, brighter, more *Galant*. Even conservative England was beginning to think of the Corelli-Handel manner as 'Antient', in comparison with the more modern style in use abroad. That style was already beginning to be heard in our concert-rooms and opera-houses, although at first considered far too frivolous for the more serious vocal forms of anthem, oratorio and ceremonial ode. Some of our own English composers were beginning to make use of it even before Handel's death; it can be seen in Arne's sonatas and comic operas, and in many an English cantata and song, especially those written for Ranelagh and Vauxhall. In the symphonic field the new style had few rivals; one of the first to startle British audiences with Mannheim orchestral effects was the Scottish nobleman Lord Kelly, whose works made a great impression here in the early 1760's. A few English composers continued to write *concerti grossi*, but with little success; 18th-century audiences for the most part liked the latest thing, even in England. But there was one instrumental form in which the older style did still flourish, for some time after Handel's death; this was the organ concerto, in which he himself had led the way. Here his

influence was almost as strong as on the oratorio, though otherwise it was not nearly as all-pervading as most historians would have us believe. It was the great Handel Commemorations of the end of the century which sanctified both his memory and his reputation, and prepared the way for the mass Handel-idolatry of the 19th century.

To understand the powerful influence which even the spirit of Handel continued to exert on the organ concerto, it is necessary to glance for a moment at the early history of keyboard concertos in general. Avison, as late as 1752, called them 'a species of Composition of late invention'. The first example is usually held to be the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto (c. 1721), an extraordinary work to be the first of its kind; and it was not until the late 1730's and 40's that keyboard concertos became at all common, even in Germany. The best-known composers of such works were the Bachs and the Grauns, with other North Germans, and a few foreigners like Agrell. Italy still preferred the violin concerto; France had the *Pièces en Concert* of Rameau, but these were trios rather than true concertos. Most of the German examples were for the harpsichord, and it was left to Handel, in England, to establish the organ concerto; indeed Burney goes so far as to claim that Handel actually invented the species. He also states that the first organ concertos were heard as interludes in the oratorios of *Deborah* and *Esther*, during March and April, 1733. The charming Concerto Op. 4, No. 2 was particularly associated with the latter oratorio. Handel's first collection of concertos 'for organ or harpsichord' was published as his Op. 4 by Walsh in 1738; another six followed later, as Op. 7. But the demand was already outrunning the supply, and Walsh accordingly made up a set of mock organ concertos out of the *Grand Concertos*, and some of the English composers such as Avison, Stanley, and Hargrave did the same with their own orchestral concertos.

The early German keyboard concertos were mostly in the three-movement form of the Italian solo violin concerto, following Vivaldi's example, but without his insistence on virtuosity. With Handel there was from the beginning a strong element of virtuoso display, for his organ concertos were composed, or rather compiled, to be played as interludes in semi-dramatic performances, himself the chief protagonist, with ample opportunity for the display of his immense skill as performer and improviser. Nor did he keep to any set pattern of movements. After he had improvised a solo diapason movement, the orchestra would begin the concerto proper with a broad *pomposo*, or a brisk *allegro* of the Vivaldi *ritornello-rondo* type, or even a French *ouverture*, with a fugue; the latter could be turned to particularly good account in a concerto, with the soloist playing bravura passages in the episodes. Handel's middle movements could be in the nature of slow airs, with or without variations, or even left as 'Organum ad libitum', for himself to improvise on the spot. The finales were usually in some dance form; minuet, gavotte, bourrée or gigue. His second set (Op. 7) left a great deal more to be improvised than the first set (Op. 4), and some of the later concertos, composed after he became blind, were little more than skeletons, to be filled out with his improvisations. His orchestration was light, usually for strings, with

oboes and bassoons. He himself seems to have had his own theatre organ in mind, but his concertos were soon being played in concert-rooms, churches large and small, and even in the open air, at such places as Vauxhall, where an organ was installed in 1737 soon after Handel began to play his own concertos in public. When these concertos were published, they bore the specification 'for organ or harpsichord'; the style of writing for the two instruments was not so dissimilar as to make such a designation ludicrous, and there is no doubt that they were played quite as often on a harpsichord as on an organ. Indeed, Burney stated, in his usual sweeping way, that 'Public players on keyed-instruments, as well as private, totally subsisted on these concertos for nearly thirty years' (i.e., c. 1740-70); however, this statement, like so many of Burney's generalizations, was not strictly true. Handel, in creating a new form, also created a new demand, and it was not long before English composers were trying to help him supply it, at first closely following his formal patterns. There was, for example, that 'little Harry Burgess', harpsichordist at Drury Lane Theatre, where, as Burney himself tells us, 'he often played concertos, generally his own, as clean and unmeaning as if set on a barrel'. That description fits Burgess's music as well as his manner of performance. The orchestral themes in his *Six Concertos* (published c. 1740) are quite vigorous, but the solo passages are indeed often 'unmeaning' and mechanical. However, this criticism can be applied not only to the new English concertos, but also to the Handel originals; as Avison wrote, 'Our Composers have run all their Concertos into little else than tedious Divisions. . . .' Burgess's contemporary, Gladwin (the first organist at Vauxhall) wrote many concertos which were played there 'with the greatest applause', but little remains of them, unless we count the song *Greenwood Hall, or Colin's Description of the pleasures of Spring Gardens. Made to a favourite Gavot from an Organo-Concerto compos'd for Vauxhall.* A similar fate has overtaken the concertos of his successor Dr. Worgan. But the works of the Rev. William Felton, Prebendary of Hereford, have fared much better, for no less than thirty-two of his organ concertos have come down to us, some even with their orchestral parts. And this in spite of Burney's sneer that Felton only 'produced two concertos out of three sets, that were thought worth playing in London'. Felton's brilliance as a performer led him to include over-much passage work, but he had a gift not only for devising bold thematic material but also for making good formal use of it in vigorous orchestral *ritornelli*, in a manner very reminiscent of Vivaldi, whose influence was almost as strong as that of Handel on these concerto-writing Englishmen. Felton was that same clergyman whose request for a subscription interrupted Handel whilst he was shaving. 'A barson make concerto? Vy he no make sarmon?' exploded the giant, amid a flurry of lather. This characteristic anecdote has been recounted a good many times, but it has rarely been noticed that Handel's name actually stood among Felton's list of subscribers, for his Op. 1 at least.

Other English composers who wrote organ concertos in the forties and fifties included Avison, Mudge, Edwards, J. C. Mantel, B. Cooke, and T. Roseingrave. None of these left any concertos of outstanding merit, but the harpsichord

concertos of Thomas Chilcot of Bath are noteworthy, being brilliantly written for the instrument, in a style which shows the influence of Domenico Scarlatti and is at times quite *Galant* for the 1750's. Nor must it be imagined that it was only the Englishmen who thought it worth while to imitate Handel's organ concertos. Several of the foreigners who found Georgian England such a profitable place attempted the new form; some, such as Paradies, with conspicuous success. Ciampi, Pellegrino, and Martini of London also published organ concertos, whilst J. H. Roman, the Swedish composer who studied in London, composed a keyboard concerto so closely modelled on Handel's Op. 4, No. 2, that it comes very near to plagiarism. Much later in the century Antoni Soler wrote a set of *Quintettos* or *Conciertos* for organ and strings which suggest that his connexions with London publishers had brought him into contact with the English type of keyboard concerto. All the English works mentioned above were composed before 1760, for a British public still under the spell of the living Handel and only vaguely aware that great musical developments were in progress abroad. But in 1759 Handel died, leaving the musical dictatorship of England vacant for whoever might claim it. Of the more talented Englishmen, one (Boyce) was deaf, and another (Stanley) was blind, whilst the third (Arne), although undeniably gifted, was too wayward and unstable to take Handel's place. In the end John Christian Bach did what he could to fill the gap, but although a charmer both in music and in life, his genius was not of the Handelian order. But he was a notable writer of concertos, and exerted a considerable influence for modernism. 1760 marked a great turning-point in English musical taste. From then onwards the 'Antient' style of the Late Baroque era, already moribund on the Continent, was seriously challenged in conservative England, and the more open-minded English composers began to struggle free of the age-old reproach of being out-of-date. The traditionalists protested, of course. Avison was particularly emphatic about the dire consequences of submitting to what he called 'a Torrent of Confused Sound'; but the gates were open and our musical defences nearly down. J. C. Bach and his friends Abel and Giardini led the invaders, with Lord Kelly as a musical fifth columnist to aid and abet. Burney, the most knowledgeable music critic of the age, and one who was devoted to the memory of Handel, was nevertheless all in favour of the new style, or rather styles; chameleon-like, he himself adopted any which came along. The new ideas were most apparent in opera and symphony, where there were no Handelian models, for the great man had written no symphonies and his operas were long since outmoded. But even in that most Handelian of all instrumental forms, the organ concerto, the new style began to make itself felt during the late fifties and sixties. There was an increasing tendency to compose concertos in three movements, or even two, rather than the Handelian four or five. And the accompaniments either begin to include a pair of horns, or are reduced to two violins and a bass, both typical *Galant* features. The main movements, too, begin to reveal the outlines of classical sonata form.

There is little evidence of any very great change of outlook in the first six concertos of Thomas Sanders Dupuis, published in 1759; but then Dupuis was a natural conservative in music. Considering his great reputation as an organist

his concertos are disappointing, for they are sadly wanting in integration, and his themes lack the old Baroque boldness without achieving any corresponding Rococo charm. His solo passages are quite difficult, for he was undoubtedly a fine performer, and it is said that his powers of improvisation were remarkable. Dupuis also left a number of concertos in manuscript which were collected and published c. 1797 after his death. Of this late set which is very mixed in style, with some movements more like Haydn than Handel, the best is the rather old-fashioned Concerto in C, an agreeable little work which supports the old saying that our Georgian composers were often 'most successful when least aspiring'.

If that was true of Dupuis, it was doubly true of Philip Hayes, who in his later years became Professor of Music at Oxford and wrote a great deal of rather stiff 'Antient' music for academic occasions at the University. But as a young man in London he composed and published a set of six concertos ('for the Organ, Harpsichord or Forte Piano'). This was in 1769. The works themselves are anything but pretentious, but they are infinitely more rewarding to both performer and listener than the laboured concertos of Dupuis. Some of Hayes' concertos are still a little mixed in style, but on the whole they are light in texture and even the movements which seem outwardly Baroque are Rococo in spirit. The first three are the best, especially the third, which was not only the most polished *Galant* concerto published by an Englishman but may also have been the first English pianoforte concerto. Another Englishman who was interested in the new instrument was John Burton; he does not seem to have published any concertos, however, although there is one in manuscript in Cambridge.

It was presumably about this time (i.e., c. 1760-70) that Dr. Arne was busy with his concertos. They were published posthumously, c. 1785, but some of them may have been composed even before Handel's death. They were still somewhat mixed in style, but Arne was essentially *Galant* in his outlook, and although he used Handelian themes, and even included some would-be learned fugatos, his concertos were more Rococo than Baroque in their general character. Presumably Arne, like Handel before him, composed his concertos for his own use; for they are brilliant and effective and make considerable demands on the soloist. Here and there are remarkable harmonic passages, such as the introductory *Largo* of his *Concerto No. 5*. But in general Arne's concertos seem more old-fashioned than his symphonies, and it is certainly likely that some of them at least may have been written before 1760.

Another man of Arne's generation, blind John Stanley, also published a set of organ concertos in the 1780's; like Arne's, they were still somewhat Baroque in style, and one of them is only an amplification of a concerto from his Op. 2 set. But several are in the new *Galant* two-movement form; the best of the set is the three-movement No. 4 in C minor, which is probably the finest of all the English organ concertos.

By 1770-80 Bach's youngest son was beginning to exert almost as strong an influence on the English concerto composers as Handel had before him, but

as a pianist, not an organist. He did try giving an organ concerto during his Lenten oratorio performances in 1770, but even his great admirer Mrs. Papendiek confessed that this concerto, although good in itself, 'did not accord with the sacred performance'. Remembering John Christian's usual light-hearted elegance, one need not wonder at his failure with an organ concerto. But although Bach may not have been very successful with his *Galant* concertos at the oratorio, his follower James Hook found them just the thing for Vauxhall, where he was expected, as official organist, to play at least one concerto every night. Hook composed a large number of gay, light-hearted organ concertos for his pleasure-garden public; he was an out-and-out modernist, and at the age of 20 was writing music as up-to-date as that of John Christian himself. His early concerto in two movements, with variations on the tune of *Lovely Nancy*, for finale, seems prolix to us but was extremely popular in its day. More attractive to modern taste are the two Vauxhall concertos in F and D, published c. 1775. Other concertos of his do not actually mention the organ, but were no doubt first played by him at Vauxhall in the 1780's. In the last decade of the century he published as his Op. 55 a set of six *Grand Concertos* for organ, harpsichord or piano, dedicated to King George the Third. Perhaps it was the thought of so august a patron and guardian of the Handelian tradition which made Hook partially forsake his *Galant* muse on this occasion, for certainly some of the concertos of this set conform more outwardly to the 'Antient' style than was usual with him, although even so he is apt to forget all about Baroque dignity and go off into a merry Vauxhall rondo in his finales. But I suspect that the King must have found some of Hook's concertos distressingly modern.

Whilst Hook was amusing his Vauxhall audiences, three infant prodigies came before the London public; these were the two Wesleys, and William Crotch. The Wesleys played an important part in the musical life of the metropolis, as concert-givers and organists. The elder, Charles, wrote at least three sets of organ concertos, some of which were published under the supervision of Dr. Boyce. They are works of solid worth, stronger in texture and orchestration than some of those we have been considering, and containing fugues 'which would have done credit to a professor of the greatest eminence', in spite of the fact that they were written by a mere lad. The younger brother, Samuel, also wrote a number of organ concertos, but they remained unpublished and the only complete examples which have come down to us are late in date, opulently scored and in some ways rather vulgar, with finales on *Rule, Britannia* and other impertinences. The finest of Samuel Wesley's works in the field of the organ concerto is undoubtedly the *Sinfonia Concertante* for organ, violin and 'cello, with orchestra, written when he was still in his 'teens. It is interesting to note that his concertos, like Handel's before him, were played at the Lenten oratorio concerts in Covent Garden Theatre, in the early years of the 19th century. The Wesleys produced most of their best work when they were still very young; had they been born into a truly musical environment such as Vienna they would undoubtedly have left some very memorable works indeed. As it was, they spent most of their lives struggling with the ghost of the 'Antient' style, which held a considerable sway over even

their youthful minds. Those musicians who catered solely for the world of entertainment, like James Hook, were in a happier position, for they could be as modern as they pleased, without any regrets; but the Wesleys, being respectable musicians, felt it incumbent upon themselves to keep up a show of antique pomposity. Some of their fellow-organists were even more firmly rooted in the Baroque past; Dr. Benjamin Cooke, for instance, who went on using the old Handelian clichés to the end of his days, and was by no means the last to do so. And Matthew Camidge, of York, who published a set of concertos c. 1800, in which he apologized, rather shamefacedly, it is true, for imitating 'the particular style of music which has long been admired, namely that of Handel and Corelli. . . .' Much later than this, that gifted Norwich prodigy and future Oxford professor, William Crotch, published three concertos, two of which are full of Baroque derivations; the third is perhaps the first-fruit of a foreshadowed Victorian period, rather than the somewhat withered and academic remnant of a Georgian past.

However, not all the English composers were tied to the past. From about 1770 onwards a number of them wrote concertos in a more modern idiom; Hook, Arnold, Rush, Boyton, Smethergell, Broderip, Cogan, Cooper, Dale, Sayer, T. Smith and Evance all tried their skill at writing *Galant* keyboard concertos, with varying success. And Matthias Hawdon of Beverley published two organ concertos preposterously mixed in style, with Baroque and *Galant* characteristics all muddled together even in the same movements, but yet retaining a decided rustic charm.

Beside the organ or harpsichord concerto ran a parallel chamber-music form, the English sonata with trio accompaniments. Mention has been made of Avison, and of his contemptuous words about the early concertos. He objected particularly to the recurring orchestral *tuttis*, and offered his own solution to the problem in three sets of sonatas in which an elaborate and difficult solo part was accompanied by two self-effacing violins and bass. These works of Avison seem on the whole more peculiar than beautiful, but they must have had some success, for they provoked a number of imitations. The best of these was the elegant single example published in score with James Nares' *Lessons*, Op. 2, which is of special interest as it contains some of the rare mid-18th century instances of pizzicato accompaniments, outside the opera-house; there are others in Handel and Chilcot. Other composers who followed Avison's example included his friend John Garth of Durham, whose own five sets were very *Galant* in style, and enjoyed considerable popularity. In the same class we can place Joseph Harris's *Quartets* and Robert Wainwright's *Quintets*, concertos in all but name.

I do not claim for any of these concertos or sonatas that they are immortal masterpieces; many of them, indeed, are the very reverse, having not only too many 'tedious divisions' but also many 'old and common passages'. But some of them are still enjoyable, and worth the attention of organists who are a little tired of the Handel pieces. Of these I would commend all the Arne concertos, some of Felton's, with Hayes' first three, and one or two of Dupuis. Chilcot's

should be better known to modern harpsichordists, and James Hook's sprightly works can still entertain audiences, just as they did at Vauxhall two centuries ago. Stanley and the Wesleys need no recommendation from me, for English organists should be well aware of their merits as composers, if not of their actual concertos.

One difficulty bars the way to full performances of some of the works: they lack orchestral parts. However, these are not very hard to reconstruct, since the *tuttis* were usually printed in short score, and the accompanying passages were light in texture. Some of the composers gave directions as to registration: 'Diapason'; 'Swelling Oboe'; 'Add Flute and Principal', etc.

As the 18th century drew to its close the organ concerto deteriorated in quality. Perhaps this was because it was essentially a Baroque form, unlikely to survive the victory of the Classical style; perhaps it was just part of the temporary decline of our music, when our best and liveliest minds were drawn away elsewhere, to concentrate on the practical problems of mastering the physical universe and laying the foundations of modern industrial society. Not that all the new middle-class leaders of industry were lacking in sensibility. Some of them, like William Gardiner, the Leicester stocking manufacturer, had quite as strong a passion for music as any of the older aristocrats. Gardiner would rhapsodize over a new quartet or an improved power-loom in the same breath and almost the same words, and believed with all his heart in the rational progress of mankind, guided by intelligence, industry and music. His musical sensibilities were awakened as a child by one of the very pieces we have mentioned (a sonata of Garth's), so that one English composition at least found a sensitive listener, who was later instrumental in bringing Beethoven's works to performance in this country.

I said at the beginning of this article that the age-old crisis of English music was never more pronounced than in the 18th century, but indeed it is unending. The 19th-century English composers had to fight their battle just as their predecessors had done, grappling with new ideas and a public just as convinced as ever that English music could not possibly be as good as the foreign variety. Dare we claim that we ourselves have solved the problem, in our own generation? The English composer's lot is still a thankless one. If he tries to be up-to-date, then he is accused of aping his continental betters; if he carries on his island traditions, he is called reactionary. In either case he can be sure of offending quite a large number of his artistic fellow-countrymen.

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH ORGAN CONCERTO, ETC

Composer	Work	Date	Location		
			Score	Solo	Parts
ARNE, T. A.	6 Favourite Concertos	? 1787		BM, LRC, LRA, CFW, CU, OB	BM, CU, OB
ARNOLD, S.	3 Concertos	c. 1780		LG	BM
AVISON, C.	2 Concertos, No. 1	1742		BM	
"	8 Concertos, Op. 4 (arr.)	c. 1747		T	
"	12 Concertos, Op. 9 (arr.)	1766		BM, CP, CF	BM
"	6 Sonatas, Op. 5	1756		BM, CU	BM
"	6 Sonatas, Op. 7	1760		BM, CR	
"	6 Sonatas, Op. 8	1764		BM, CR, M	BM
BECKWITH, J.	Favourite Concerto, Op. 4	c. 1795	CU	BM, OB	BM, OB
BOYTON, W.	2 Concertos	c. 1780		CP, OJ	CP
BRODERIP, R.	Favourite Concerto, Op. 7	c. 1780		BM, OB	BM, OB
BURGESS, H.	6 Concertos	c. 1740		BM, CP, Dr.	BM, Dr.
BURTON, J.	Concerto in A	?		CF	
CAMIDGE, M.	6 Concertos, Op. 13	c. 1800		BC	
CARTER, T.	Concerto	c. 1770		?	?
CHILCOT, T.	6 Concertos (1st Set)	1756		BM, T, Hi, CR, OB, Ba.	
"	6 Concertos (2nd Set)	1765		Ba.	
COGAN, P.	Concerto, Op. 5	1793		BM, OB, Db.	BM, OB, Db.
COOKE, B.	Concerto in D	1749	LRC		
CROTCH, W.	3 Concertos	c. 1812		CP	
DALE, J.	2 Concertos, No. 1	c. 1783		BM, GU, OB	BM, GU, OB
"	2 Concertos, No. 2	c. 1785		BM, OB	BM, OB
DUPUIS, T. S.	6 Concertos	1759		BM, CP	
"	5 Concertos	c. 1797		CC	
EDWARDS, Mr.	6 Concertos	c. 1760		BM, OB, CU	OB
EVANCE, W.	Favourite Concerto	c. 1785		BM, CR, CP	CR
FELTON, W.	6 Concertos, Op. 1	c. 1744		BM, He., T, LRA, LRC, CP, CR, M	BM, He., T
"	6 Concertos, Op. 2	c. 1747		BM, He., T, CP, CR, Db., OM.	
"	6 Concertos, Op. 4	c. 1752		BM, T	BM
"	6 Concertos, Op. 5	c. 1755		BM, T, M, OB, F	F
"	8 Concertos, Op. 7	c. 1760		CR, F	F
GARTH, J.	6 Sonatas, Op. 2	c. 1768		BM, GU, CP, F	BM, F
"	6 Sonatas, Op. 4	c. 1775		F	
"	6 Sonatas, Op. 5	c. 1775-80		?	?
"	6 Sonatas, Op. 6	c. 1780		CR	
"	6 Sonatas, Op. 7	1782		BM	BM
GILLIER, the Younger	Hpd. Concerto in 8 Sonatas			? (See Mellor & Bailey's Cat. No. 42)	
GLADWIN, T.	Gavot from a Concerto, arr. as a song <i>Greenwood Hall</i>	c. 1742		BM	
GRiffin, G. E.	2 Concertos, for Pf., Op. 1 & 4			CU, BM, LRC	
HANDEL, G. F.	6 Concertos, Op. 4	1738		BM, etc.	BM, etc.
"	6 Concertos, Op. 7	1761		BM, etc.	BM, etc.
"	6 Concertos, arr. from Op. 6 (including 2 genuine organ Concertos)	c. 1740		BM, etc.	
HARGRAVE, H.	5 Concertos, arr. from Bassoon Concertos	c. 1765		BM	BM
HARRIS, J.	6 Quartettos, Op. 2	c. 1774		BM	
HAWDON, M.	2 Concertos	c. 1776		M, CC, CR, He, BM, OB, CR, T,	M
HAYES, P.	6 Concertos	1769		M, OMa, OMu.	M

(Continued overleaf)

Composer	Work	Date	Location		
			Score	Solo	Parts
HAYES, W. HOOK, J.	3 Concertos Concerto (Lovely Nancy), Op. 5	OB 1769		BM, CP, CU	
"	2 Vauxhall Concertos	c. 1775		CC	
"	6 Concertos, No. 1	c. 1775		BM, CP	CP
"	6 Concertos, Hpd. or Pf.	c. 1774		CP, CR, Hi.	CP, LU
"	6 Grand Concertos, Op. 55	c. 1795		CU	
MANTEL, J. C.	6 Concertos, Op. 3	c. 1752		BM	
MAZZINGHI, J.	Concertante, Op. 42, for Pf., etc.	c. 1800		BM	BM
MUDGE, Mr.	Concerto, in 6 Concertos	c. 1749		BM, CF LRC, CR, T, Dr.	BM, CF LRC, CR, T, Dr.
NARES, J.	Sonata, in <i>Lessons</i> , Op. 2	c. 1759	BM, CP, CFW, CR Le.		
ORPIN, T.	Concerto in D, 1st movt.			CP	
PARKE, M. H.	Concerto for Pf.	c. 1795		BM	BM
ROSEINGRAVE, T.	Concerto in D	c. 1770		BM, CF	
RUSH, G.	[6] Concertos, Nos. 1-3	c. 1770-73		BM, LRC, CR, CU, T	A
"	No. 4	c. 1775		T	
SAYER, (?)	2 Concertos	c. 1775		?	?
SMETHERGELL, W.	6 Concertos	c. 1775		BM	BM
"	Favourite Concerto	1784		BM	BM
SMITH, T.	6 Concertos, Op. 4	c. 1780		BM	
"	6 Concertos, Op. 13	c. 1785		?	CU
STANLEY, J.	6 Concertos, arr. from Op. 2	c. 1745		BM, CR	(V. 1 only)
"	6 Concertos for Org., Hpd., or Pf.	c. 1785		CR	BM, etc.
WAINWRIGHT, R.	6 Quintettos	c. 1777		CP	CP, OB
WESLEY, C.	6 Concertos, Op. 2	1781		BM	
"	14 in MS. in BM, and LRC (including Op. 2)				
WESLEY, S.	Sinfonia Concertante, in MS.	1781		BM	
"	3 Concertos in MS.	c. 1800-15		BM	
"	Hornpipe and Variations from a Concerto	c. 1820		BM, CU	

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Amsterdam, Dutch Musicological Society	GU	Glasgow, University Library
Ba.	Bath City Library	He.	Hereford, Chain Library
BC	Brussels, Conservatoire	Hi.	Hirsch Library, British Museum
BM	British Museum, London	Le.	Leeds, City Library
CC	Cambridge, Clare College	LG	London, Gresham College
CF	" Fitzwilliam Museum	LRA	" Royal Academy of Music
CP	" Pendlebury Library, University Music School	LRC	" Royal College of Music
CR	" Rowe Music Library, King's College	LU	" University Library
CU	University Library	M	Manchester, Watson Library
Db.	Dublin, Trinity College	OB	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Dr.	Durham, Cathedral Library	OJ	" St. John's College
F	Mr. Gerald Finzi's Collection	OMa.	" Magdalene College
		OMu.	" Music School
		T	Tenbury, St. Michael's College

N.B.—The presence of any title in the above list is no guarantee of its accessibility.

I wish to express my grateful thanks to Dr. Edith Schnapper for her kind assistance in consulting the British Union Catalogue.

GLORIANA AND BENJAMIN BRITTON

Gloriana was something of a disappointment musically, though the spectacle designed by John Piper was quite as good as rumoured. The ceremonial music, the masque and the court dances, though adding nothing to Britten's reputation, were all excellent occasional music. Essex's lute-songs and the Blind Beggar's ballad are dramatically telling and charming in themselves; and so, in a rather *chichi* way, is the chorus of Elizabeth's women at the beginning of Act 3. All these 'numbers' are well suited to the coronation pageant which I had imagined the opera to be. But the emotional drama of the Elizabeth-Essex relationship, with the subsidiary love affair between Mountjoy and Essex's sister, finds expression in thin-blooded, nervous, ungenerous music that teases and irritates, instead of satisfying ear and heart. Much of the action is carried forward by impassioned tirades, and soliloquies set to a kind of heightened recitative, against which pizzicato strings or angular brass figures compete with the singers for the listener's attention. This, combined with the shortness of the scenes and the frequent diversions, left me with the feeling that, even after three hours, I had been starved with a lot of clever and elegant snacks instead of fed with solid musical fare. William Plomer's libretto presumably provided the composer with the sort of framework that he desired; but many of the faults of the music are attributable to the book. The last scene, in particular, is little short of disastrous and seemed like an unfortunate expedition into the territory recently claimed by Menotti, a composer with hardly a tenth of Britten's musical gifts.

The reception accorded to *Gloriana* by the musical world in general—by which I do not mean composers or professional critics, but the average intelligent music-lover and patron of Covent Garden as well as the gossips—marks a minor revolution in musical taste in this country. The work has been very generally over-blamed (as other of Britten's works have been over-praised) but with an almost sadistic relish or glee that has little to do with musical merit or demerit. The fact is that the fashion has changed and it is now smart to underrate Britten's music. This veering of public feeling was easily foreseeable. Whether he desired it or not, Britten and his music have been 'news' for something like ten years, a long run for any fashion; and nothing short of a spectacular success could prevent that fashion from changing. He has been ill served, with the best of intentions, by a fanatical clique of admirers, whose exaggerated claims on his behalf have combined with an hysterical resentment of all critical comment to alienate large sections of the musical world. Finally, it has been felt that Britten has had the advantage of special patronage, special conditions of work and performance not accorded to other composers; and however much this may have been exaggerated, there has been much to give colour to the suspicion of a kind of 'most favoured composer' attitude in some influential quarters. This offends the sense of 'fair play' still very strong in the British public and has probably lent the note of bitterness to what might otherwise have been merely a change of musical fashion. Critics who have in the past refused to be carried away on the wave of fashionable idolatry must now guard against the strong undertow of popular disfavour. Disappointment in an individual work is no reason for forgetting or underestimating a composer's past achievements; and the moment when any artist's stock suddenly falls with the always volatile public is the moment when the professional critic—who may after all turn out to be the artist's best friend—should be most scrupulous in his estimate.

MARTIN COOPER.

